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A FURTHER STUDY OF THE LIÈGE DIATHESSARON

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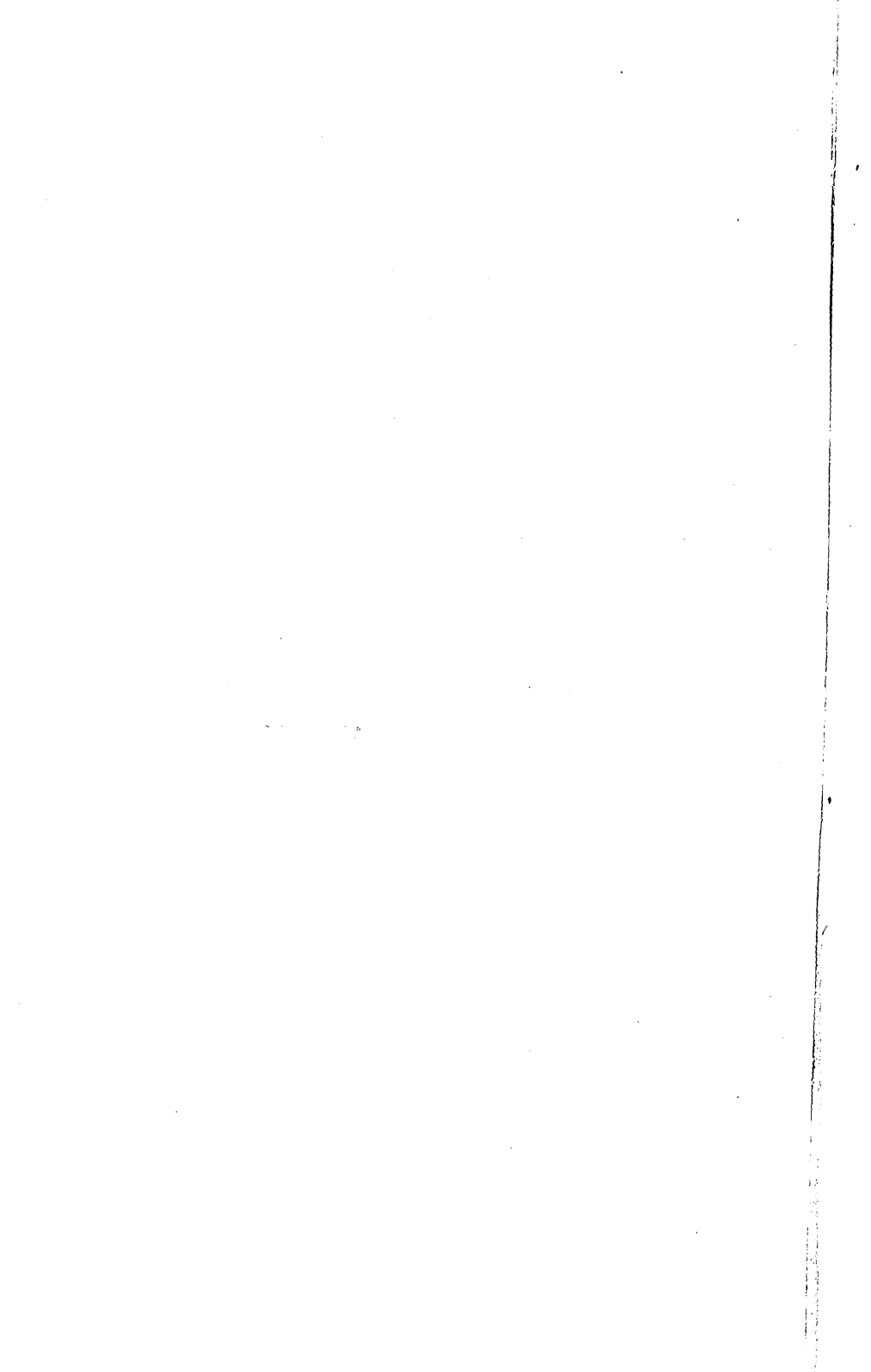
DR. D. PLOOIJ

E. J. BRILL LTD. — LEYDEN

1925



A FURTHER STUDY OF
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TO

*Dr. J. RENDEL HARRIS,
MY INSPIRING TEACHER
AND DEVOTED FRIEND.*

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PREFACE

The present volume is meant as 'a further study' to that which I published a couple of years ago announcing the discovery of '*A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*' (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1923). Perhaps I may be allowed to lay stress on the fact that I called the Liège Text *a* primitive Text. More than any Gospel Text a Harmony was liable to alteration and revision. Only Tatian's autograph probably could be called *the* primitive Text. But that the Liège Diatessaron really contains an archaic Text, will, I hope, be fully confirmed by the present study.

I have confined myself to pointing out the relations of L mainly to the Old-Syriac and the Old-Latin. In my 'preliminary study' I have drawn attention also to Tatianic influence in the Old-French 'Bible Historiale' and in Petrus Comestor, *Historia Evangelica*. How interesting and fruitful a study of the Old-French, Old-German and Old-English Versions will be, is clearly demonstrated by a parallel in the Old-French to the anti-judaic version of Mt. xxvii. 27 (discussed *infra* p. 67) pointed out to me by Rev. C. A. PHILLIPS. The Old-French reads: 'Les chevaliers de pylate recuans iesus assemblerent *toute la compaignie des juifs*'. This is pure Tatianic Anti-Judaism! How this relation of the Old-Latin Diatessaron to Versions of the late Middle Ages is to be explained, is another subject for investigation.

I wish to express my cordial thanks to Rev. C. A. PHILLIPS, Bournemouth, for many valuable suggestions and for the reading of the proof-sheets of the present volume.

I would also gratefully acknowledge the help received from Dr. V. F. BÜCHNER, Leyden, who collated the quotations from EPHREM-Moesinger's Latin with the printed Armenian. He has left the Latin unaltered in all those cases in which it did not affect the argument; but he informed and warned me where the Latin would have caused any wrong deduction.

D. PLOOIJ

Leyden August 1925.

SIGLA

In order to simplify the quotation of Diatessaron Texts in further studies I would suggest the following sigla:

- Tasy = the Old-Syriac Diatessaron.
- Tapeš = the Diatessaron in the Pešiṭta revision.
- Taar = the Arabic Translation of the Diatessaron.
- Talat = the Old-Latin Diatessaron.
- Tavg = the Vulgate revision of the Diatessaron.
- Taned = the Mediæval Dutch Diatessaron in its original form.
- Taaphr = the Text of the Diatessaron as used by APHRAHAT.
- Taeph = the Text of the Diatessaron as used by EPHREM.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL REMARKS

When some time ago I published a brief sketch containing a preliminary announcement regarding the textual character of the Liège MS. of a Dutch Version of the Diatessaron ¹⁾, I was quite aware of the far-reaching character of the theories I proposed with regard to the history of Tatian's Harmony, and of the inadequate method by which I tried to prove these theories. It has been remarked that it was hardly right to go over the field picking up what seems favourable to the proposed views, whilst large parts of the Text which possibly might suggest an other solution, are left aside. Of course the only right and satisfactory method would be to give the whole Text, carefully collated, accompanied by an exhaustive Apparatus containing all the matter necessary for comparison, and to append elaborate studies on the various problems raised by the newly discovered Text, for instance its relation to the Old-Latin Gospels, to the Codex Bezae, to Tatianizing Texts like the Ferrar-Group and other Minuscules, or the Fragments of the Syriac Diatessaron, and so on. The simple enumeration explains at once why I had to choose a preliminary announcement! The beginning of the mentioned scheme is being carried out: a separate edition of the Liège Text with comparative Apparatus is being prepared. But even this will take much time. Meanwhile it did not seem justified to withhold the discovery of the archaic character of the Liège Text from the fellow-workers on the field. This was all the more necessary because the problem is not the problem of one man: the area on which the influence of the discovery will be felt, is so wide, that only a cooperative effort can succeed. So we resolved to publish a brief sketch, however imperfect and incomplete it might be, in the hope to draw attention to the important problem and, if possible, to elicit criticism and to invite cooperation.

¹⁾ *A Primitive Text of the Liège Diatessaron*, by Dr. D. PLOOIJ, with an introductory Note by Dr. J. RENDEL HARRIS, Leyden, 1923.

This aim, I am glad to say, has been reached. I wish to thank here my critics, especially Lietzmann¹⁾, Vogels²⁾, Burkitt³⁾ and Jülicher⁴⁾, who have not confined themselves simply to criticism, but have given independent studies on the subject. Even where their criticism was adverse, as was mainly the case with Jülicher's treatment of the subject, written in the style which seems peculiar to him, I have learnt something by their objections and observations. Though I do not think I deserved the information given by Jülicher with regard to Von Soden's siglum Sy (c), the meaning of which, without undue pride, I may confess to have known before the appearance of Jülicher's study, I received even this with gratitude, convinced that it might serve to teach one humility, a virtue which is not out of place even in textual criticism.

However different the opinions on the various problems as yet may be, on one point of great importance there seems to be now general agreement: that behind the Liège Text lies an Old-Latin form of the Diatessaron and that accordingly the Latin Diatessaron is ante-Hieronymic: that therefore the Vulgate forms (of which only the Fuldensis has been printed) are corrections, and, with regard to the fine structure of the harmonization, certainly deteriorations. So far there is, I think, general agreement.

That there is a close relation between the Old-Latin Diatessaron and the Old-Latin Gospels seems also to be *in concessis*. Especially the studies of Dr. Vogels and Dr. Burkitt have shown this beyond any doubt.

There is however some difference of opinion with regard to the Group of Old-Latin Gospels to which the Latin Diatessaron is related. I had given as my opinion, since strengthened, that the Liège Diatessaron shows signs of near kinship with the so-called "African" Group. Dr. Burkitt in his very careful and valuable study comes to the conclusion that the pre-Fuldensis text is near akin to the European Group. A final conclusion seems possible only after an exhaustive study. But in the following pages a number of Old-Latinisms may be registered for consideration. They are only the most striking out of a great many cases.

¹⁾ In: *Zeitsch. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.*, 1923, Heft 1/2, S. 150—153.

²⁾ In: *Theol. Revue*, 1923, n^o. 5, col. 80—84.

³⁾ In: *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1924, (vol. XXV, n^o. 98), p. 113—130.

⁴⁾ In: *Journ. of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XLIII, pts. I—II, 1924, p. 132—171; and in: *Die Christl. Welt*, 1924, nr. 11/13, Kol. 162—169.

The following important points however still meet with strong opposition:

1°. The thesis that a Greek Diatessaron has not been proved to exist, and that its existence is not needed for an explanation of the facts either with regard to the Syriac or the Latin Harmonies;

2°. That the Old-Latin Diatessaron preceded the Old-Latin Separate Gospels, much in the same way as the Old-Syriac Diatessaron is thought to have preceded the Old-Syriac Gospels.

3°. That the Old-Latin Diatessaron is a translation from the Syriac, not from the Greek.

With these theses several other problems are connected, the most important of which is the unique position which Codex Bezae holds in the Greek textual tradition. Chase has tried to explain its peculiarities as Syriasms; Dr. Rendel Harris as Latinisms. The solution probably lies in the combination of these two opinions: viz. that the Latin Text of Codex Bezae is influenced by the Latin Diatessaron which was a translation from the Syriac, and that accordingly the Syriasms in the Greek column are retranslations from the Latin. Other problems are: the Diatessaron-readings in the Codex Sinaiticus, in the Ferrar-group, and other MSS. of the 10th till the 14th century.

Another line of research is indicated by the annotated Latin Commentaries on the Diatessaron of which Zachary of Besançon is the only representative in print. Further the Harmony of Clement of Llanthony, which, holding a place of its own in the history of the Diatessaron, deserves a special treatment; and then the descendants of all these texts, the various Dutch and German Harmony-MSS. and the Wiclifite Harmony in England. The curious thing is that even there the influence of the Tatianic Harmony does not stop. Both Dom. de Bruyne and Jülicher have referred to modern Gospel translations, Jülicher with the exclamation: "Luther der wahrlich keinen Tatiantext gekannt hat!", Dom. de Bruyne ¹⁾ with a reference to the wording of the Lord's saying on the cross: 'nu est *al* voldaen', which up to the present time is the form in which in Flemish Churches this word is quoted. I cannot dwell on this point here, remarking only that we can trace the influence of Tatianic readings in the Dutch State Version and in other modern Versions. For instance when

¹⁾ In: *Revue Bénédictine*, Avril, 1923, p. 690.

ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, Mt. xi. 25, Lk. x. 21 is rendered by: 'I thank Thee', which is a Marcionitic and Tatianic version. In the same way the Flemish: 't Is al volbracht', is probably a survival of the Flemish Diatessaron, for in Holland you will hear never any other form but: 'Het is volbracht'.

It is of course out of question that in the present state of things any one should try to attack all these problems at once. The enumeration shows the necessity of cooperation. But as the edition of the Dutch Text and its Apparatus will take a long time, it seems advisable to publish another study on the subject, even if this study, like the preceding one, can only be preparatory, and its method selective and to that extent unsatisfactory. The criticisms and studies which appeared on the Liège Diatessaron, showed that in several points, some of them fundamental, there is some misunderstanding which should, if possible, be removed before doing further harm. So with regard to the relation of the Dutch Texts to one another, of the Liège Text to the original Dutch translation, and of the original translation to the Latin Text. Especially the glosses in the Liège Text, which as a matter of fact are very diverse in character and origin, have caused misunderstandings.

On the other hand, prolonged study has only confirmed me in the opinion that the Old-Latin Diatessaron is a direct translation from the Syriac. So it seems worth while to try to justify this opinion with further arguments, and to lay more material (even if it be only a selection) before the fellow-workers in this field for their consideration.

As an additional gain in examining early Latin readings we shall find a number of variants which show a close relation between the Marcionite and Tatianic Texts. That is what might be expected, but then the relations of what may be called the Early-Roman and the Old-Syriac text, show unexpected connections, which lead us into the unknown land of the earliest history of the Oriental and the Latin-speaking portion of the Christian believers in Rome.

CHAPTER II

THE LIÈGE TEXT AND ITS MEDIAEVAL RELATIVES

It seems advisable to say a few words on the date and the author of the mediæval Dutch translation. The Liège MS. itself belongs to the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. Accordingly, whatever may be the state of integrity of its text, it is the oldest known copy of any form of the Dutch Diatesaron ¹⁾. This does not imply that it represents the oldest form of the text: a younger copy might contain an older text. At any rate the Dutch translator lived before the end of the 13th century ²⁾. As a further indication of the date of the original translation I pointed to the transcriptional error in L. c. 226 = Mt. xxvii. 9 *porter* (citizen) for *potter*. The same error occurs already in MAERLANT's *Rijmbijbel*; so I concluded that MAERLANT used a copy of Taned which already contained this error ³⁾. As a matter of fact this error is the only *datum* for determining the age of the Dutch translator. Nobody knows who he is: but for this error (which certainly is not an error of a translator rendering

¹⁾ It may be remarked that its language is Dutch, not German ('deutsch') as Jülicher, *l.l.*, p. 147, and also *Chr. Welt*, 1924, 20 Mrz. Kol. 166 repeatedly says.

²⁾ Perhaps a passage in the apology of Lambert le Bègue († 1177), to which I have drawn the attention of scholars of mediæval Dutch, points to a date one century earlier. The document is discussed and printed by Paul Fredericq under the title: *Les documents de Glasgow concernant Lambert le Bègue*, in: *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 3^e Serie, t. xxix, 1895, p. 148—165, 990—1006. The passage bearing on our problem is of great importance and may be quoted here: 'Et hoc est quod preter scripti sui accusatores queritur iste, ne scripturas sacras indignis aperuisse . . . Est preterea apud eos liber psalmodum cum omnibus glosulis suis et auctoritatibus eas roborantibus in vulgarem linguam a quodam magistro Flandrensi translatus. Quare de eo non queritur? Quare homo non incusat? Propterea forsitan quia nemo propheta acceptus est in patria sua. Ille vero magister de patria eius non fuit'.

³⁾ Jülicher's treatment of this subordinate question is so obscure, that I must leave it undiscussed. He also objects to the suggestion that 'gheburte' L. ed. Bergsma p. 13⁴ = Lk. i. 65, is a transcriptional error for 'gheberchte', which however seems pretty evident.

figuli by porter, but of a scribe, writing porter for potter) I should have thought of MAERLANT himself. However the character of MAERLANT's *Rijmbijbel* seems to imply that MAERLANT has used a Bible of the kind known as the 'Bible of 1360'. In this Bible a Diatessaron Text, purified from all glosses and expansions is accompanied by, but carefully separated from, a commentary taken mainly from PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Evangelica*. At all events the Dutch translator lived before MAERLANT, i. e. before 1271 a. D. And though as yet we are not able to define more exactly his identity and age, we may safely say that he belongs to that great Biblical movement of the 12th and 13th century which was at once a revival of Biblical interest and preaching of the Harmonised Gospels, and a preparation for the Reformation.

The Dutch translator is a great stylist, and a fine religious author. But his 'reformatory' qualities are not his private property: they are a hereditary treasure received from his spiritual ancestors, the writers of those accumulative Commentaries on the Latin Diatessaron of which that of ZACHARY OF BESANÇON is the only printed representative. In the same number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, which contains Jülicher's study, Dr. Rendel Harris published a paper in which he shows ZACHARY to be a reformatory spirit congenial to the Dutch translator. Hence the freedom with which the Dutch translator handles his text, hence also the love and reverence he shows for the Gospel. His own great merit is that he brings the Gospel within the reach of the simple folk and makes it speak to them in their own language.

It is necessary to say a few words on the glosses of the Liège Text. We leave undiscussed for the present the interlinear and marginal notes in the Liège MS. A few of them may be corrections or additions made by the scribe after the Latin original or more probably, after the Dutch MS. he copied ¹⁾; some of them seem to be insertions taken from Commentaries or from the Vulgate Gospel ²⁾ in which the later reader found passages not

¹⁾ So in Lk. i. 13 where 'vif maent' is not in the text, but added by the corrector.

²⁾ For instance the interlinear glosses on John i. 1f. which remind us of Wiclif's rendering of the verses; cf. the specimen given by Dr. RENDEL HARRIS in the introductory note to *A Primitive Text*, p. 3.

contained in L or taken by L from another Gospel. At all events they do not, as a rule, belong to the original translation and only in cases of the latter kind have, sometimes, found their way into cognate texts like S and H. Of the same secondary kind seem to be the references to the initial words of Gospel pericopes (which are in Vulgate Text), and also the words '*glosa*' and '*exposicio*' by which some passages are 'asterisked' as expansions. I give one or two instances which show clearly that these 'asterisks' belong to a more or less systematic collation of the Dutch text with the Vulgate and are not due to the original author. In Bergsma's edition p. 201¹⁰ (Ch. 187) = Lk. xix. 39 we find:

Also dat hoerden de somege van din phariseusen die daer waren so spraken si te Jhesum ende seiden meester schilt dine yongren die dat volc aldus don roepen.

The words in spaced type are not in the Greek or Latin Text, and are asterisked by the 'corrector' as *glosa*. We find however in Sysin, Lk. xix. 39: 'Fair Teacher, rebuke thy disciples that they should not cry out' (Sycur: 'Rabban, rebuke them that they should not cry out'). The words of L are there, though a little changed in order and mood, certainly very little if we consider the distance in time and place of the cognate Texts.

Another addition, which certainly has an early origin, is that which I recently pointed out in a paper on: *The Anti-Sabbatic Dilemma in the Gospels*, printed in *The Expositor* for Sept. 1924, p. 196—207. It is in Bergsma's edition p. 87⁶ (Ch. 86) = Mt. xii. 5:

'Ende hebdi oc nit ghelesen in de wet dat de papen op den saterdach in den temple breken de virte in din dat si dat quic doeden dat men offert. ende de kinder besniden. ende nimen en berespt so daer af?'

The words 'in din dat si dat quic doeden dat men offert ende de kinder besniden' are 'asterisked' as '*addicio glose*', but I think that in the paper, to which I refer, I have shown that these words certainly represent a *textual* tradition before Jerome.

On the other hand we can show that insertions, which are decidedly early glosses, have escaped the attention of the 'corrector'. In Tatian's version of the Lords' Supper (which version has disturbed seriously the textual tradition of the respective verses

in Lk. xxii especially in the Old-Syriac, and in the Old-Latin MSS. *e* and *b*) L ed. Bergsma, p. 225⁶ (Ch. 206) = Lk. xxii. 20 adds after the words of institution of the cup: "ende also dikke also gi dit doet so doedt in gedinkenessen mijns". The words in spaced type are an expansion, though not 'asterisked' by the corrector. Apparently they have been taken from I Cor. xi. 25: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ὅσακις ἔαν πίνητε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, or, what is more likely, from the liturgical use in the Church in which these words from I Corinthians were combined with the Evangelical narrative. They are however not an expansion made in the late Middle Ages but belong to the earliest tradition of the Diatessaron, for this is Aphrahat's quotation of the passage: 'And also over the wine thus He said benediction and said to them: This is my blood, the New Covenant, that is shed for many to forgiveness of sins. Thus, namely, ye shall be doing for my memory whenever ye be gathered together'. Burkitt in his note on Mt. xxvi. 28 (Ev. da-Mepharreshe, I, p. 157) quotes this passage from Aphrahat adding a reference in brackets to I Cor. xi. 25, 20. The Liège Diatessaron shows that it was Tatian who inserted the words from the Epistle into the Gospel.

Clearer still is L p. 35⁸ (Ch. 28) = Lk. iv. 21:

Dese selve scrifture die gi mi hir lesen hoert es nu op desen tyt toecomen ende vervult.

The words in spaced type: 'which you hear me read' are an expansion of which we find nowhere any trace but in the Arabic Tatian which says: 'To-day hat this scripture been fulfilled which ye have heard with your ears'. An agreement like this between the Liège Dutch and the Arabic should surely by itself be a decisive proof of their mutual relationship.

There is however another kind of textual gloss which deserves our interest. In Bergsma's edition p. 215¹³ (Ch. 198) we find ('asterisked' as an *'expositio'*) the following note relating to Mt. xxiv. 36, Mc. xiii. 32: 'Dit wart van den sone exponeert de glosa ens heilegs mans die Hylarius hit die segt aldus: De sone ende de heilege gheest die van henselven nin syn mar van den vader sine weten oc din dach van henselven nit mar de vader die es van hemselven hi weetene van hemselven'. The quotation is important because it shows that either our translator was a great scholar and independent student of Patristic exegesis, or that he was translating an annotated Diatessaron of the kind used by ZACHARY OF BESANÇON. The latter is the case. When for in-

stance in Cap. 9 (Bergsma p. 17¹) the translator is giving a note on Mt. i. 19 he quotes his authorities in this way: 'alse de heilege seggen'. That means that he has before him a kind of catena of exegetical notes taken from the Fathers just as in ZACHARY's Harmony. But it is not this particular work our translator uses. In Mt. xxiv. 36, Mc. xiii. 32 where L quotes HILARY, ZACHARY (Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 186, col. 471 sq.) quotes only JEROME and no other. But there were several other works of a similar kind. In the Libraries of Orléans, Brussels and elsewhere, there are extant manuscript Harmonies with Commentaries different from that of ZACHARY, and which deserve a special investigation.

Dr. Rendel Harris in his article on ZACHARY's Harmony ¹⁾ has shown that a series of comments, attached to the Vulgate Text, often betray or suggest an earlier Latin Text than the Vulgate to which they are attached. Not ZACHARY himself, but one or more of his predecessor-commentators seem to be working on an Old-Latin Diatessaron Text. As ZACHARY himself is working on a Vulgate Text, sometimes the Old-Latin Commentary-reading is quoted only to be refuted: e. g. on John viii. 58: '*Antequam Abraham fieret ego sum*', ZACHARY says: '*Non ait: fui, sed: sum, quia divinitas tempus non habet*'. But the refuted reading is not only Old-Latin as the Liège Text shows, but Old-Syriac at the same time, and is also the reading of EPHREM's Commentary upon the Diatessaron. This is one of the instances given by Dr. Rendel Harris. For further information I may refer to his paper.

So it becomes more and more probable, not only that behind the Vulgate Texts of the Diatessaron lies an Old-Latin form of it, but that this Old-Latin Text has been commented on from early times and that ZACHARY's *Unum ex quatuor* is only one item in a long line of annotated Harmonies in which the generations accumulated the exegetical and devotional observations of the Fathers. Zahn, Vogels and recently Burkitt have proved, I think beyond all doubt, that the Vulgate Harmonies are the result of assimilation of the Old-Latin Text to the Vulgate, but both in the Text (rarely) and in the Capitularia (more commonly), and also in the Commentary of ZACHARY (more frequently still), the Old-Latin original peeps through the holes of the Vulgate dress.

¹⁾ *Some Notes on the Gospel-Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus*, in: *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XLIII, prts. I—II, 1924, p. 32—45.

Now the importance of L clearly is that here the Old-Latin Text has been to a great extent preserved. It seems that no Latin copy of the same kind has survived. Not one of the numerous MSS., that I have consulted, has escaped revision from the Vulgate. This might be expected. The Diatessaron in a text divergent from the canonical form of the Holy Gospels, could be tolerated only in the period of first love and naive belief that it is the contents that matter, not the letter. Happily the tradition that Tatian the Heretic was its author, had died out before the pious commentators and our Dutch translator got his work into their hands. If they had known, probably still less would have been left of his admirable compilation. Our Dutch translator lived in a period of real interest in the Gospel history and he translated his Latin Diatessaron simply as a 'Life of Jesus' written for devotional purposes and for the preaching of the Gospel to the people. So he did not trouble himself about the textual variants and enjoyed the edifying qualities of his book, which are excellent indeed. After him comes the period of scrutinizing criticism, which removes all non-Vulgate matter and corrects his work after the Vulgate Harmony, much in the same way as some fifth-century predecessor had corrected the Old-Latin Text into the Vulgate Harmony of which Victor ordered the Fuldensis Copy to be made.

We must be quite clear about the place a Diatessaron Text is likely to occupy in the history of Gospel-Texts. A Harmony necessarily could not be written unless the order and wording of the Separate Gospels were not yet regarded as sacrosanct. Tatian shows deep reverence for the contents of the Gospel, but he does not shrink from altering the order of events nor from adding exegetical expansions. He is very careful not to omit any feature of the Gospel narrative given by any of the Evangelists, at the same time he is not a slave to the letter but a free Christian who is conscious of having the Spirit also. And so even ascetic additions or alterations are delicately but freely added. Is not asceticism according to Tatian the 'life of perfection according to the Saviour'?

But as soon as the canon of apostolicity and of orthodoxy is applied to the letter, no Harmony could be allowed to exist unless it were adjusted to the canonical Text, the Vulgate in Latin, the Peṣiṭta in Syriac. The period of expansion and interpolation in the Text is passed, only a 'pure' Text is any longer allowable and anything one has to say on it, should be relegated

to the Commentary. This explains how in the time of Revival the Old-Latin Diatessaron with its Text deviating from the Vulgate could be received with joy, and how the following generation could accept only a 'purified' Text. Even this in another generation had to retreat before the canonized Text of the Separate Gospels.

The Dutch translator is undoubtedly a man of great literary skill and living religious feeling. He loves his subject and he loves his own language: the result is a translation which is at the same time faithful and free, correct even in slight nuances, but not slavish, beautiful in sound and wording, a literary and religious monument worthy of its predecessor. These qualities however do not make it an easy task to reconstruct its Latin original. Nevertheless, in a great number of cases we may be quite certain about the very wording of the Latin which the Dutchman is translating, and certainly it is a serious error to think that the freedom of the Dutch means translating loosely, giving no heed to nuances or to small particles. In some cases he uses simply the Latin word and when for instance L (Bergsma, p. 217²⁴) gives Mt. xxv. 7 as: 'doe stonden op alle die magde ende parerden hare lampden' we may be sure that he read '*paraverunt*' instead of '*ornaverunt*', and that he read the Latin '*lampadas*'. And as to small particles and slight nuances, it is astonishing to find that hundreds of slight variants may be found back in the Old-Latin or, farther still, in the Old-Syriac tradition. This is all the more astonishing as in a majority of the instances we cannot be sure about the exact Latin word the translator had before him: only in a few cases L uses '*parabel*', generally he says '*ghelikenisse*', but it is not at all certain that this '*ghelikenisse*' always represents '*similitudo*', it may represent equally well '*parabola*'. This is only one instance, but there are a great many more of this kind in which, of course, the Dutch leaves us in the dark with regard to the exact word used in the Latin. For this reason a reconstruction of the Old-Latin as suggested by some scholars, seems to me to be excluded so long as an archaic Text in Latin has not been recovered. If we tried a Latin reconstruction, it would be an artificial Text which could never be relied upon for textcritical purposes.

It may be useful to show that the freedom of the translator is no caprice:

On p. 32 of *'A Primitive Text'* I observed that L in Lk. ii. 26 has the reading that Simeon 'would not taste death' in stead of 'see death', a variant only occurring in EPHREM, ed. Moes., p. 225 sq.¹⁾ Jülicher, *LL.*, p. 158, objects to this statement: "EPHREM may have quoted from memory (cf. Mt. xvi. 28) or L may have wished to avoid the repeated: see". Of course, in this way all coincidences may be declared to be accidental. But, all right! We turn then to John viii. 51. Here Jesus says that whosoever will keep His word: *θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ*, 'he will not see death'. The Liège Diatessaron (Ch. 178, Bergsma, p. 183¹⁰) reads: 'hi en sal nemmermeer der doet ghesmaken', again: *'non gustabit mortem'*. We might regard this as a reaction from vs. 53 where the word used is *γεύσεται*. But then it is curious that the same reaction as in L is found in the Lewis Syriac and only there (cur. hiat): 'death he shall not taste for ever'! This is only one instance: in the following pages Jülicher will find, I hope, proofs in sufficient number to convince him that the freedom of the Dutch translator does not mean careless and loose translation. He does not appear to use his words at random, but faithfully reproduces his original.

This does however not imply, that in all cases we can be sure that transitional clauses and frequently used phrases and paraphrases have always been in the Latin Text. Jülicher thinks it possible even to distinguish in L two authors of very different literary skill. He praises the one, the author of the whole, he blames the other, an interpolator whose: "steifleinene Art mit der er beim Übergang immer wieder sein: 'Und dann sprach Jesus weiter zu ihm und sagte also' stammelt" is said to be quite different from the original translator. Already Hjelt²⁾ has remarked with regard to a similar phrase, that the Lewis Syriac „liebt diese solenne Formel (viz. 'he answered and said') und verwendet sie auch da wo ihr im Griechischen kein ἀπεκρίνατο entspricht". Not only in this case, but in several others, L agrees with the Syriac in a pleonastic phraseology.

However, there are many cases in which we should be inclined to refer such phrases to the freedom of the translator.

¹⁾ August Merk, S. J., informs me that EPHREM in the recently edited *Commentary to Acts*, p. 17 l. 23 has the same reading: 'Smavon, dass er nicht kostete den Tod ehe er gesehen den Herrn Christos' (i. e. *Dominum Christum* l. *Domini Chr.* = EPHR., p. 226). So EPHREM does not quote from memory!

²⁾ *Die altsyrische Evangelien-Übersetzung*, Leipzig, 1903 (= *Forschungen*), VII, S. 84³.

For instance, Bergsma, p. 189¹³ (Ch. 181) = John x. 19 we read:

‘Alse Jhesus dese wart gesproken hadde, so ward echt en twist onder de yoeden van desen warden’.

The Fuldensis reads: ‘*dissensio iterum facta est inter Judaeos propter sermones hos*’, which literally corresponds to the Greek. The words in spaced type: ‘*cum Jhesus locutus esset hos sermones*’, are an expansion. Is it a freedom of the mediæval translator? When we turn to the Lewis Syriac (Syr^{cur} hiat) we find that it is not:

‘And while he was speaking these things there had been a division among the Jews’.

A few lines further on, Ch. 182, we read (Bergsma, 189¹⁰ = John x. 22):

‘Op enen tyt so was ene feeste te Jherusalem die die yoeden heten encenia’.

The Fuldensis gives the Vulgate form of the text:

‘*Facta sunt autem enchenia in hierosolymis*’

corresponding to the Greek: ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις.

There is nowhere in the textual tradition any trace of the expansions: ‘ene feste’ and: ‘die die yoeden heten’.

We turn again to the Sinaitic Syriac and find:

‘And it had been the Feast in Jerusalem that is called Honour of the Sanctuary’.

Here again we find the traces of the readings we were after. Turning a page we read in L, Ch. 182, (Bergsma, p. 191³ = John x. 31):

‘alse die yoeden hoerden dese wart, so namen si steene’ etc.

Again there is no trace of the words printed in spaced type in the Apparatus of Von Soden. But when we turn to Syr^{sin} we find:

‘When he had said these things they took up stones’ etc.

The words in spaced type are merely a variation of those which we found in the Liège Text.

These few instances may suffice, not to prove that all the expansions and paraphrases in L are early Tatianic matter, but to make us extremely careful in giving a verdict of origin in these cases. There is a congeniality of spirit between the great Harmonist at the beginning of the Christian era and his follower in the Middle Ages, and as long as we have not a Latin Text of the kind our Dutch translator used, we shall have to withhold from any general statement and to be satisfied to show that in several cases he is reproducing Old-Tatianic matter, which only casually has been preserved in the Old-Syriac Gospels or in the fragments in EPHREM and APHRAHAT.

Regarding the relation of the Liège Text to the other Dutch (and German) copies of this Version, I think we may safely say, that there is general agreement at least in one important point: that all Texts besides L have been revised with the set purpose to make them agree with the Vulgate. L also shows sometimes influence of the Vulgate ¹⁾, and in a very few instances even where S and H have preserved the Old-Latin reading. But as a whole, we may say that L preserves the Old-Latin Text, and the other Versions are Vulgate. Accordingly as far as we are interested in the early history of the Latin Diatessaron, it is not to the Vulgate members of the Dutch Diatessaron-Family we have to look in the first place, but to L, occasionally receiving sidelights from the other Dutch (and German) witnesses.

I regret that Jülicher (*l. l.*, p. 145) in my preliminary study „vermisst die Erkenntniss der offenen Fragen, der Schwierigkeiten” regarding the genealogical relations between the members of the Dutch Diatessaron-Family. Perhaps in due course of time his opinion regarding my eyesight may be mitigated. At any rate on one point we may be sure: that the direction in which the evolution of the Diatessaron-Texts in the 13th century moved, is not the direction of expansion but of purifying. Jülicher thinks the reverse direction is probable (*l. l.*, p. 141) and he often ascribes expansions and alterations to the stylistic taste of L, whilst in many cases we are able to prove the archaic character of the expansions in L which have been removed in the other

¹⁾ The question, moved by Jülicher, *l. l.*, p. 154, whether already the Latin original of T^{aned} was influenced by the Vulgate, cannot be answered, I should think, until this Latin Text has come to light! How are we able to make out where T^{aned} deviates from its original so long as this original is lost?

authorities. As a matter of fact I know only of one gloss which is certainly a Dutch one: the popular explanation of 'ave' as "sonder we" (Bergsma, p. 9² ad Lk. i. 28). That philologists, as Meyer already in 1835, should have wondered at the freedom, — W. Walther in 1892 even at the „beständigen Missbrauch der Freiheit" — of the Dutch translator, is quite comprehensible; theologians however, especially when it has been proved that the text contains at least a good number of archaisms, should be more careful. Jülicher says (*l. l.*, p. 148): „Wie eigenmächtig dieser Übersetzer sein Verständniss eines Bibeltextes bis zur Behauptung des Gegenteils von dem was der Text sagt durchhält, illustriere Lk. xix. 42 (Bergsma S. 159): 'Wenn du wüsstest was dir bevorsteht, wie ich es weiss, so würdest du auch weinen, doch (read: denn) nun an diesem Tag hast du deinen Frieden'. It is curious that in the same number of *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* in which Jülicher gives this verdict on L's version of Lk. xix. 42, Dr. RENDEL HARRIS deals with the same passage ¹⁾ and shows that at least the expansion: 'et tu (*fleres*)' is not an „eigenmächtige" invention of L but a very old gloss. If Jülicher will consult ZACH. CHRYS., col. 365, he will find, that not only this '*fleres*', but also the words 'wat di nakende is also ic doe', have their parallel in ZACHARY's comment: '*si cognovisses etiam tu mecum, subaudis: ruinam quae imminet*'. This one instance may suffice to teach us prudence in giving a verdict of arbitrariness with regard to the Dutch translator, who certainly translated a Latin Text which widely differed from the Vulgate. He was so little alarmed by the divergence of his Text from the Vulgate, that even in the Lord's prayer he translated undeterred the: '*ne nos relinquant in temptationibus nostris*'. Where he is adding a note of any importance he says so explicitly, as for instance Bergsma p. 215¹³ the note on Hilary of Poitiers. Cp. also p. 151¹⁰ where on the parable of the workmen in the Vineyard is said: "This parable the writings of the Saints and the glosses explain in one way thus, in an other way so," Even in these glosses, taken probably from a Latin commentary on the Diatessaron like that of ZACHARY, early matter may be contained. For instance with regard to the latter gloss we may refer to EPHREM, *Comm.*, p. 176 f., where a part of the gloss finds its exact parallel. Of course, we are not justified in regarding all non-Vulgate matter in L as archaic: the only thing

¹⁾ Dr. RENDEL HARRIS, *Some notes on the Gospel-Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus*, in: *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* vol. XLIII, pts. I—II, 1924, p. 38.

is that we have to study the Text, and not to dismiss it on *a priori* arguments.

The collation of L with S, H and other Dutch Texts clearly shows that this unbiassed attitude of L became impossible as soon as the difference of its text from the Vulgate was discovered. A more or less thorough 'correction' was taken in hand. Whether this correction was made after a Vulgate Harmony (as I think most probable) or after a copy of the Vulgate Gospels, is rather irrelevant. But those glosses and variants, which were discovered as deviations from the Vulgate were removed, or as in the Harmony in the 'Bible of 1360' were relegated to the 'Commentary'.

All this seems to me to justify fully the proposition, that the attempt to recover the Old-Latin Text should start from L and that the other witnesses of the Dutch version are only occasionally to be consulted. To give one instance: In L, Ch. 122, is omitted (between Mt. xvi. 12 and xvi. 13, Bergsma, p. 123) Mc. viii. 22—26. The omission is observed both by Burkitt and by Jülicher. In Burkitt's study however the observation is a part of a long list, very carefully made and very cautiously discussed, of all the omissions of Gospel matter in L, F and the Arabic. Jülicher however gives the following note: After remarking that the passage Mc. viii. 22—26 is added at the end of the Harmony not only by S, but also by G (a German 'After-Übersetzung' of the Dutch Diatessaron), he proceeds (*l. l.*, p. 139): 'beide (S und G) schieben hinter den Schlusz der Harmonie eine Übersetzung von Mc. viii. 22—26, einer Perikope, die im Diatessaron fehlt, von dem Uebersetzer aber ungern darin vermiszt wurde: er hat den Plan, sie aufzunehmen, aber erst nach Vollendung des Ganzen gefasst und es seinen Nachfolgern überlassen ihr den richtigen Platz innerhalb der Harmonie zu verschaffen'. Jülicher, who wonders that I have neglected this point, will perhaps be interested in the note I inserted in my copy of Bergsma, p. 123, a good while before Jülicher had seen the Dutch Text: 'H. adds here Mc. viii. 22—26 = EPHR., p. 152—153, Taar xxiii, 26—30. Accordingly sometimes also H preserves genuine Tatian matter for also F omits the passage here'. This note shows at once that the insertion in this place is not an invention of H, nor the omission an omission of 'the Diatessaron'. Both the Arabic and EPHREM's *Commentary* show that the passage belongs here from the beginning, and the omission both in Fuld, and in L proves that this is an early error of one line of textual tradition, and that they

are corrected in H after a copy which preserved the original order. Perhaps we may conclude from this fact that the Vulgate correction of L as we find it in H was done not after the Vulgate Separate Gospels, but after a Vulgate Diatessaron-Text, different from that of the Fuldensis. If this conclusion is right — and I do not see how the facts can be explained otherwise — a second important conclusion may be drawn. Both the Fuldensis and the Liège Text are descendants of an Old-Latin Diatessaron Text, not in a direct line, but as Burkitt¹⁾ suggests, as great-nephews rather than grand-sons of the Old-Latin prae-Fuldensis Text. If then H shows traces of being a Vulgate recension of the Dutch Diatessaron which has been made by means of a Vulgate Diatessaron containing a genuine Tatianic pericope, which has been lost in the L—F tradition, the bifurcation of the Latin Diatessaron lies at least one stage behind the Old-Latin copy from which both L and F are derived, which leads us certainly into the fourth century.

One remark may be allowed with regard to the Prologue. Only L and the fragment indicated by Bergsma as W. I., contain the Prologue including the passage relating to the insertion of explanatory glosses. If our sketch of the evolution of the textual tradition of the Dutch version is right, this passage must belong to the earliest form of the Dutch Diatessaron. S in revising the Text and purifying it from the glosses, cancels also the passage relating to these glosses, and the later MSS. omit the Prologue altogether. I do not think it possible, for the time being, to discuss the matter on a real basis of facts, and bare speculations are of no use. But that the Prologue, which makes the author of the Diatessaron to be also the author of the Prologue, should be „eine Fiktion, ein fast raffiniertes Kunststück” as Jülicher thinks, is, to say the least, a premature and highly improbable assertion. There has been a time when theories of historic forgery were *en vogue* in Germany, but I thought that the scientific attitude has been somewhat altered since the days of Tübingen.

¹⁾ *L. L.*, p. 125 Burkitt says that L is a great-nephew of Fuld. He means, I think, the pre-Fuldensis Text as the common ancestor. It is hardly conceivable that an Old-Latin Text should be, even in a sideline, a descendant of a Vulgate Text.

CHAPTER III

TATIAN'S METHOD OF HARMONISATION

There would be scarcely a reason to devote a special chapter to an enquiry after Tatian's method of harmonisation but for some suggestions regarding this point made by Dom Connolly in a paper entitled: *A side-light on the method of Tatian*¹⁾, which suggestions were endorsed by Burkitt in his study on *Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies*²⁾. If we had to deal only with the complete Texts of the Diatessaron as they are extant in Arabic and in Latin, the question hardly would have arisen. All these Texts, included those Latin Texts which are extant only in MS., have the tendency to combine all the Evangelical matter, taking Matthew as the leading Gospel and interweaving the matter from the other Gospels into the narrative of Matthew. Burkitt in the excellent study above mentioned has carefully collated the arrangement of the Harmonies both in the Eastern Texts (EPHREM-Moesinger and Arabic) and in the Occidental (Fuld., Liège). There is a, comparatively small, number of differences of order and harmonisation, the most important case of the latter being the combination, both in F and L, of the story of the Sinful Woman, who anointed the Lord's feet, with the story at the Meal in the house of Simon the Leper. But as a whole, there is a general agreement with regard to the tendency to combine carefully all the Evangelical matter into the Harmony.

This is confirmed when looking on the system in detail. When, for instance, we turn to APHRAHAT's quotation of the story of the rich youth, as it is given by Burkitt in his *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* as a footnote to Mc. x. 19 ff., we see that the versions of Matthew and Mark are artistically combined:

Mk. x. 19b Thou shalt not commit adultery and Thou shalt
Mt. xix. 18b, 19 not thieve and Honour thy father and thy mother Mt. xix. 19

¹⁾ In *Journal of theological Studies*, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 268—273.

²⁾ In *J. T. S.*, Vol. XXV, 1924, p. 113—130.

and Love thy neighbour as thyself. ²⁰ That man saith to him ^{Mk. x. 20b} These — I have done them, lo, from when I was a child, ^{Mt. xix. 20b} but what do I lack? ^{Mk. x. 21} Then Jesus looked upon him lovingly and said to him: One thing is lacking to thee; ^{Mt. xix. 21} if thou dost wish to become a perfect man, ^{Mk. x. 21b} go, sell everything that thou hast and give to the poor, ^{Mt. xix. 21} and take up thy Cross and come after me. And that man, when he heard, ^{Mk. x. 22} it grieved him much and he went to his house sorry, ^{Mt. xix. 22b} because he was rich in wealth exceedingly. And Jesus said ^{Mk. x. 23} See, now difficult for them which trust in their wealth to enter the Kingdom of heaven! And again he said ^{Mk. x. 25} Easier peradventure for a she-camel to enter through the eye of a needle than a rich man into the Kingdom of God.

In the Texts which are conformed to a canonical Text, the Arabic to the Pešitta, the Fuldensis to the Vulgate, this revision has often caused a deterioration of the mosaic; in numerous cases the Harmonisation of the various parallels has been replaced by a quotation merely from Matthew. But as the reason of this revision is clear, there can be no doubt regarding the secondary character of these alterations.

Burkitt however suggests that the 'scrupulous ingenuity of the Arabic Text is not primitive' and endorses the opinion of Conolly that the original Harmony combined the Gospels rather loosely, throwing together the different stories and handling freely the Evangelical matter. He suggests that the agreement of F and L bears witness to a pre-Syriac form of the Harmony (p. 116). He even suggests that the Latin Harmony was a pre-Tatianic form, 'a Latin epitome for Latin Christianity', which was not translated by Tatian into Syriac, but used by him as a kind of model for a 'second edition', changed and improved, in Syriac. The second part of this hypothesis, the priority of the Latin Harmony to the Syriac, must be left for another chapter, but the former part deserves careful attention now. If it should prove to be right, all investigations into the relation of the Latin and Syriac Diatessaron would practically be void and useless.

On the combination in Fuld., p. 138 f. and L Chapter 208 (Bergsma p. 227, 229) of John xii, Mt. xxvi and Lk. vii. 36 ff. we shall say a few words presently. The theory of Tatian's

method as a rather free combination of the Gospels starts from Dom Connolly's suggestions in the above mentioned article. Dom Connolly remarks that in EPHREM's *Commentary* on the Story of the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda (John v; Moesinger, pp. 143—145) two points attract attention: '1°. that Ephrem's copy of the Diatessaron contained the verse which tells of the moving of the water by an angel, and 2°. that in quoting our Lord's words to the infirm man EPHREM seems to confuse them with those addressed to the paralytic at Capernaum (Mt. ix. 6; Mk. ii. 11; Lk. v. 11). He cites the words thus (Moesinger, p. 146): '*Surge, tolle grabbatum tuum et vade*'; '*Sta in pedibus, sume grabbatum tuum, et vade in domum tuam*'; '*Is qui me sanavit, (ille) dixit mihi: Surge tolle lectum tuum et vade*'. Dom Connolly adds that the Curetonian Syriac John v. 8 has a similar reading: 'Arise, take up thy bed *and walk* and go to thy house'.

He quotes further JACOB OF SERÛG († 521) who sometimes made use of Tatian's Harmony, and who in a Homily '*on that Paralytic of thirty eight years whom our Lord healed*' seems to identify the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum with that of the infirm man at Bethesda and says that 'there can be no reasonable doubt that he did so on authority of the Diatessaron'.

With regard to the readings on which the opinion is based, we shall presently say a few words. But we observe first that in EPHREM's *Commentary* the two stories are clearly separated. The story of the paralytic man is quoted by EPHREM, Moesinger, p. 59, the narrative of John is far away in p. 145—147. Not only so, but they are in the very same place and surroundings as in the Arabic Diatessaron:

	EPHR.	Arab.
John iii. 22	p. 58	vi. 5
Calling of Mathew (James)	p. 58	vi. 46
Lk. v. 5	p. 59	v. 54
Mt. ix. 1—13 (the paralytic)	p. 59—61	vii. 11—24
Mc. ii. 19 (Lk. v. 34, Sons of the Bridechamber)	p. 61	vii. 32
Mt. xii. 1—8 (Disciples in the cornfields)	p. 61	vii. 37—45

There cannot be any doubt that EPHREM had the story of the paralytic in this place and separate from the story of Bethesda. In F and L the story of the Paralytic is placed later (F Ch. 55, L Ch. 68) than in the Arabic Harmony and in EPHREM (cf. Burkitt, *l.l.*, p. 115) but in the same surroundings ('Sons of the bridechamber', Disciples in the cornfields). But still it is clearly distinguished from the story at Bethesda, which is found in F Ch. 89,

L Ch. 116. In EPHREM it is p. 145 ff., Taar xxii. 9—24, and with the exception of the Cleansing of the Leper, here also the surroundings are the same as in the Arabic and in EPHREM. Accordingly, besides the homily of JACOB OF SERÛG, there is no sign whatever, that the two stories were ever combined in the Tatianic Diatessaron. Now, it would not become me to say anything evil of sermons, having been a preacher for a good while myself. But it would not be astonishing at all to find a preacher using features from an other Gospel-story to illustrate the passage on which he is speaking. At all events the reading, to which Dom Connolly refers deserves our attention. Perhaps it will be the most convenient way to print the text of L, noting the variants which seem important and to collate them with the other available Tatianic or Tatianizing texts of the passage. I give the text in an exact reproduction after the Liège MS. much in the same way as this is planned for the new edition of the whole:

ohn V. 1

Dar na so

- gheuil dat de yoden hadden ene feeste eñ ih'c ghinc te
 2 dire feesten eñ quam te ihrl'm. In din tide so was te
 3 *fol. 38r* ihrl'm ene piscine die hadde vif parvise. In din parvisen
 so plach geduas te liggene ene grote menege uan siken
 lieden. die som waren blint. som houtende eñ manc. som
 4 verdorret van den fiedercine. In din tide so plach dingel
 5 te comene van den hemele eñ dat water van der sist'
 nen te urne. Eñ so wie so dan tirst conste ghecomen
 in die piscine. na din dat dat water gherurt was die
 wart gheghanst van sire sikheit so welkertiren dat
 5 si was. Aldaer so lach en man die sesse* eñ dertech yaer
 6 10 hadde ghewest in ere sikheit. Also ih'c den ghenen sach
 die wale wiste dat hi langen tyt sik hadde ghewest.
 so vragde hi hem eñ seide aldus. weltu ghesont
 7 werden? Eñ die sieke antwerdde weder eñ seide. here
 in hebbe nimene alst water gherurt es die mi helpe
 15 dat ic in die piscine moge comen. want also ics mi pi
 8 ne so comt en ander eñ gheet vor mi. Doe sprac ih'c
 totin siken eñ seide. Nem dyn bedde op dinen hals
 9 eñ ghanc dire straten. Eñ also saen also dat ghespro
 ken was. so was die mensche al ghesenen eñ hi nam
 20 syn bedde op sinen hals eñ ghinc en weghe. Dit was
 10 op enen saterdach. Doe spraken die yoden toten ghenen

- die ghenesen was eñ seiden. het es heden saterdach.
 11 dine es nit ghorloft dyn bedde te dragene. Eñ deghe
 ne antwerdde hen weder aldus. Die mi ghandsde hi
 25 gheboet mi dat ic name myn bedde eñ drogt en we
 12 ghe. Doe vragden hem die yoden wie deghene ware
 die hem hadde gheheten syn bedde en wech dragen
 13 Eñ deghene die ghesont worden was en consts
 hen nit berechten wie dat hadde ghewest. want
 14 30 ih'c was ghegaen op hoer vten volke. Dar na so
 vanten ih'c in den tempel. eñ aldaer so sprac hi den
 ghenen toe eñ seide. Du best nu ghenesen. hud ti voert
fol. 38^v ane uan sunden dat di namaels nit argers en gheschie.
 *in mg.: + achte

vs. 2. *erat* l. *est*, *sy^{c(s)}p* Taar.

om. ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ, *sy^{c(s)}p* Taar.

om. ἡ ἐπιλεγ. ἐβρ. Βηθζατά. The name of the pool both in EPHR., p. 146 and in the homily of JACOB OF SERÛG is 'Siloe'. The latter however, speaking also of Bêth-Hesdâ shows that this name also is known to him. EPIIR., p. 148 makes the connection with the story of the man born blind: '*pari modo caecum a natiuitate misit lavatum in Siloe*'. L seems to have dropped 'Siloe' and JACOB OF SERÛG combines the two names.

vs. 3. 'verdorret van den fledercine' is a translation of '*aridorum paralyticorum*', cf. L Ch. 59 'sik van den fledercine' = F c. 48 '*paralyticus*'. The addition '*paralyticorum*' is found also in the Old-Latin *a b d l r* and the Greek of cod. Bezae: παραλυτικων. The addition is clearly a remnant of a reading in which the sick man was denoted as a 'paralytic' as by JACOB OF SERÛG, or it is a Tatianic insertion to explain the fact that among the sick people was a paralysed man not able to reach the water in time.

vs. 6. om. *iam*, *sy* Taar, *pal*, the Old-Latin *e*, *ŋ* and one minuscule 1321 (v. S. 1110). One of the rather numerous cases in which *ŋ* shows the influence of a Tatianic reading.

vs. 7. add. 'ende seide', *et dixit* p. *respondit*, the Old-Latin *b f*; add. *dicens*, *syp*, Taar, *pal*; *dicit* l. *respondit*, D d *sysc* — add. 'die mi helpe' *qui me adjuvet*. The addition is found also in EPHREM p. 145: '*adjutor non est mihi*', and in JACOB OF SERÛG: 'caretakers (~~ⲙⲏⲗⲏ~~ ~~ⲙⲏⲗⲏ~~) are not found for me'. It is clearly a Tatianic exegetical expansion.

'alse ics mi pine'. I do not know which Latin exactly corres-

ponds to the word: 'pine'. It means: 'doing something with difficulty and exerting one's utmost strength'. Then it is certainly worth while to observe that instead of: *dum venio enim ego*, EPHREM reads '*dum ego tardus me moveo*', an expression similar to that of L.

vs. 8. 'nem dyn bedde op dinen hals ende ghanc dire straten', *tolle grabbatum tuum et vade in domum tuam*. L omits with no other authority: 'surge'. But 'vade' l. 'ambula' is the reading of EPHREM (2/3, p. 146), and of one minuscule (v. S. 1279). *Vade in domum tuam*, added p. *ambula* in syc and by 33 (v. S. δ 48) and a few minuscules. It seems to me that 'ghanc dire straten', 'go thy way' is a somewhat free rendering of 'go to thy house'. The words are borrowed from Mt. ix. 6. We do not find any trace either in L or in EPHREM or elsewhere of the words from Mt. ix. 3 which JACOB OF SERÛG makes the Lord say to the sick man: 'Thy debts are forgiven, my son, be of good heart'. So it seems that this is simply a freedom of the homilete in connection with vs. 14.

Two things are clear from this collation: 1°. That there is no combination of the two stories of Mt. ix and John v in Tatian's narrative, though in John v. 8 he uses an expression borrowed from Mt. ix. 6. 2°. That the Liège Text is very near to the Syriac Text even in its apparently Tatianic expansions. There is no reason, at least not on account of JACOB OF SERÛG's quotations, for the thesis that Tatian should have had a more loose method of harmonisation than may be seen in the complete Diatessaron Texts. Only, here and throughout the whole work, wherever we are able to control it, he adds delicate exegetical touches which may help to understand the narrative as he understood it himself.

Now, with regard to the combination of the stories of the 'sinner' and of Mary of Bethany in the house of Simon the Leper. The facts are clear: EPHREM in his *Commentary* and the Arabic Tatian separate the two stories. Fuld. and the whole Latin tradition combine them. Burkitt remarks (*l. l.*, p. 116¹) that the identification of the 'sinner' with Mary Magdalene and Mary the sister of Martha, is the official tradition of Rome, as attested by the services for July 22. Not only so, but at least since Gregory the Great, it is the general tradition in the Occidental Church and the opposition to this assumption by Faber Stapulensis was

condemned as heresy in a decree of the Sorbonne of Nov. 9, 1521¹⁾. Accordingly the combination would not at all be astonishing in a Harmony in the West. It was however known also in the East. In EPHREM, ed. Lamy, Vol. I, p. LXX, Lamy quotes from a sermon by EPHREM in these words: *Describit deinde mores et flagitia peccatricis quam unam et eandem esse ponit cum Maria Lazari sorore et cum Maria Magdalena e qua Christus septem demones ejecerat*. On the next page (LXXI) Lamy describing the contents of another Sermon, says: *agit in eo S. Doctor de unctione Bethaniae in domo Simonis Leprosi peracta quam eidem peccatrici tribuit. Unde rursus colligitur Mariam Lazari sororem quae Christum in Bethania unxit et peccatricem de qua sermo est apud Luc. vii Ephraemo unam eandemque esse personam*. So EPHREM has also known a narrative in which the two stories were combined²⁾, and the theory of the identification of 'Mary of Magdalene' (identified with the 'sinner') and Mary of Bethany is at least as early as the bifurcation of the Syriac and the Western Churches in their exegetical tradition. For when Ishôdad says: 'Others say that it was the very same, and that she *twice* anointed the Lord' this is to be ascribed to the fact that at his time the two stories were separated and that a harmonisation into one story was no more known. It is quite possible that various editions of the Diatessaron did exist, one combining, the other separating the two stories. The Diatessaron which, at least in the West, and afterwards also in the East, had no apostolic authority at all, was more liable to alterations than the sacrosanct text of the Holy Gospels separately. For the time being we cannot tell whether the combination or the separation of the two stories is Tatianic, though the combination is likely to be the earlier form in the Harmony.

¹⁾ Cf. Zahn, *Das Ev. des Lukas ausgelegt*, Leipzig 1923, S. 329³³.

²⁾ Ishôdad (syr. p. 170 f., engl. p. 101 f.) and Salomon of Bassora, in the Bee, ed. Budge, syr. p. 131, engl. p. 115 f.) know the same tradition. I am indebted for the text of the above quotations to Dr. RENDEL HARRIS.

CHAPTER IV

OLD-LATIN AND SYRO-LATIN READINGS IN L

It may be that only a full and exhaustive collation will bring the problem of the relation between the Old-Latin Gospels and the Old-Latin Diatessaron to a satisfactory solution. Meanwhile a selection of important variants may have its merits, not so much for a final result, as for the information of the 'commilitones' in this field of research. Only by a cooperative effort and exchange of suggestions may we hope to reach our aim. And however important or unimportant the following suggestions may prove to be, they are meant simply as a contribution to the common task and as an object for criticism and discussion.

There is another problem which, it seems to me, will sooner find a definite solution. Burkitt has suggested that the Latin Diatessaron should have been a first imperfect attempt at harmonising the Gospels and that Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron was a 'second edition' rather independent of its original Latin. We must be clear about the fact that in this case Syriac readings and Syriasms cannot be expected to be found in the Latin Diatessaron unless through the medium of the Greek Gospels. On the other hand, if we can prove that the Latin Diatessaron contains Syriac readings found only either in EPHREM or APHRAHAT or in the Old-Syriac Gospels, there is scarcely any other explanation possible than that of the priority of the Syriac Diatessaron. And when these Syriasms or Syriac readings are found also in the Old-Latin Gospels, even in their earliest known form, we scarcely can avoid the conclusion that the evolution of textual tradition is: Syriac Diatessaron — Latin Diatessaron — Latin Gospels. So far the problem would be comparatively simple. But we shall see that there is another factor, which brings us to an earlier period still, viz. the Marcionite Text, which also shows affinity with the Syriac. But let us not anticipate further inquiries.

In order to make our task perfectly clear, a few further remarks may be allowed. Even if the theory that the Latin Diatessaron

was translated from the Syriac, prove to be right, we must not forget that the Greek Gospels existed at the same time! The translator would be a Syrian knowing (more or less) the vulgar Latin; or (what is less probable) a Latin knowing (more or less) Syriac. Some mistranslations would make the latter hypothesis more probable than the former. But at the same time, whether he were a Syrian or a Latin, the man certainly has known, more or less, the *lingua franca* of his days, the *Koinē* in which the Greek Gospels were written. In translating the Syriac he has made use, consciously or unconsciously, of the Greek Text: Hence hellenizing words such as: *eremus*, *agape*, *parabola*, would not be at all unexpected in the Old-Latin Diatessaron; and though (until the Old-Latin Text of the Diatessaron has come to light) we are not in a position to verify this suggestion, we shall constantly have to bear it in mind.

Further: we cannot expect the Old-Latin Text underlying L to have escaped all influences from the Vulgate or from other quarters during its existence of ten centuries. The Old-Latin Gospels have passed more than one revision, how much more a Diatessaron, which had no apostolic authority and the text of which was not sacrosanct. All these influences, working, since the bifurcation of the Latin and Syriac Churches, separately in East and West, make us expect important differences between the texts and their arrangement and we can only wonder at the strong affinity between Western and Eastern textual evidence even in members of the Family so far distant, both in time and place and in history, as L and EPHREM. Jülicher has asked why I always preached 'concord' and never 'discordance'. Besides, perhaps, a personal preference for the former, I should say that discordance is what we could expect and what everybody expected. It is the concord which matters and which makes us wonder at the tenacity of a literary tradition which both in Syria and in Gallia even forgot completely its origin and relations.

It must be remarked that a great number of Old-Latinisms, if they have existed in the Latin original of L, escape our control now. Generally we shall not be able to decide which synonym out of a series *L^{lat}* has used, and in cases of different arrangement in a sentence often the Dutch syntax makes a definite order necessary. Sometimes we may be sure of the underlying word for instance in: *glorificeren*, *clarificeren*, but even then we shall not be able to insert a special column for L in the list made by White for *q* in *Old-Latin Bibl. Texts*, III, p. xxxiii for the

synonyms: *clarifico, glorifico, honorem accipio, honorifico, honoro, magnifico*. And if we tried to give a reconstruction of the Old-Latin Diatessaron by translating L into Latin, even if it be the Latin of the Old-Latin Gospels, our attempt would only be an artificial one, and as such valueless and misleading. With regard to suggestions of a possible reconstruction of the Latin Tatian, this statement must be made quite definitely and underlined strongly.

One of the most interesting cases of an Old-Latin reading, which is also a puzzle by itself, is L p. 89⁵ (Ch. 88) = Mt. xii. 20:

‘Dat ghekrokde riet en sal hi nit breken noch dat roekende hout en sal hi nit bleschen’.

L accordingly reads *lignum* l. *linum*. It is a very early misreading (probably of a phonetical character), for it occurs not only in *k*: *lignum fumigans non collocavit* and in Cvg, but also in IRENAEUS Lat. (where, as Vogels, *Theol. Revue*, 1924, n^o. 1 rightly remarks, Sanday and Turner, *Nov. Test. S. Irenaei (Old-Latin Bibl. Texts. VII)*, 1923 p. 19, should have printed it with five MSS. in stead of *linum* which clearly is a correction.

Perhaps I may draw attention to another reading of *k*, one line further on: Mt. xii. 21 ‘*in nomine eius gentes credent*’. *Credent* l. *sperabunt*, is as far as I can make out, a singular reading. Sabatier notes only one conflate reading *credent et sperabunt* in *L. contra Iudaeos Op. Cypr. p. 501*. Perhaps those who will have studied the Syriac readings and Syriasms collected in the present study, will come back again to this reading and not be astonished that I suggest as an explanation the fact that the Syriac root ܥܒܪ has the meaning both of *sperare* and *credere*.

Another reading of the ‘African’ Old-Latin which seems to be a remnant of the Syriac Diatessaron, may be registered here. The Sinaitic Syriac has preserved in Lk. ii. 4 the reading which both EPHREM and APHRAHAT attest as a reading of the Diatessaron: ‘because both of them were from the ‘house of David’ instead of the Greek: διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρὸς Δαυὶδ.

e reads: *propterea quod essent de domo et patria David*. The reading seems unique in the Greek¹⁾ and Latin tradition and has disappeared also from the Latin and Dutch Diatessaron.

¹⁾ It is found acc. to Von Soden also in the cursives 121 (Gr. 348) and 1043 (Gr. 1216) in the form: αὐτοῦς l. αὐτόν. cp. also *A Primitive Text*, p. 27.

L p. 23¹⁴ (Ch. 20) = Lk. ii. 41.

'Joseph ende Maria' l. *parentes eius*.

This reading, sprung from the hesitation to call Joseph the father of Jesus, is found also in Gvg, *a b c ff*² (add.: *mater eius*) *lr*. It may be noticed that the Syriac (sin. and peš.) uses the term: 'his kinsfolk', ܡܥܝܪܐ, *propinqui eius*, the word which vs. 48 *e* substitutes for *pater* (*propinqui tui et ego*), where L uses the conflate reading: 'dyn vader Joseph'.

L p. 27⁶ (Ch. 21) = John i. 14; L p. 27¹⁰ (Ch. 21) = John i. 18; L p. 165 (Ch. 163) = John iii. 16; L p. 165³ (Ch. 163) = John iii. 18.

In all these verses occurs in Greek the word *μονογενής* said of the Son of God. L translates the word without exception by 'eneg', *unicus*. The Latin Vulgate is *unigenitus*. But *unicus* is the Old-Latin reading:

John i. 14: *a e q*; Tert., *adv. Prax.*, twice: *unicus*, once *unigenitus*.

John i. 18: *unicus* is read by *a* in a combination: *unicus filius solus*; the reading *solus* in Tert., *adv. Prax.*, 8.

John iii. 16: *unicum* is the reading of Evg, *a b d e m q r*, Tert., Cypr., Lucifer.

John iii. 18: *unici*: *a d e*, Cypr.

Unicus clearly is a free rendering which gradually has been corrected into the more literal *unigenitus*. It may be remarked however that all the Syriac versions (Sysin hiat) and the Arabic Diat. have *unicus*, ܐܝܢܝܬܐ, perhaps the only word fit for rendering the Greek *μονογενής*.

L 35¹⁷ (Ch. 30) = Lk. v. 2 'dwogen hare netten', *lavabant retia sua*.

The addition *sua* is attested by *a r* in the Old-Latin, by Sys(c)p and Ta^{ar} in the Syriac, and by the minuscule 1225 v. S. in the Greek.

L 39¹⁰ (Ch. 33) begins with the words:

'In din tide doe Ihesus vernam dat Yan Baptista was ghevaen ende ghekerkert ende dat de phariseuse van hem de nimerde daden loepen' etc.

The passage is a combination of Matth. iv. 12: ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι ὁ Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη and John iv. 1 ὥς οὖν ἔγνω ὁ κύριος ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ and it follows immediately after John iii. 36. (There is

the same insertion of Mt. iv. 12 in Fuld. also, but after John iv. 1). Now the incarceration of John the Baptist is mentioned between John iii. 36 and John iv. 1 also by the minuscule 1222 v. S.: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρεδόθη ὁ Ἰωάννης, by the Old-Latin *e*: *et post haec traditus est iohannes* and by the marginal note of Sy^harcl.: *et post haec traditus est Iohannes*. The insertion is important not only as showing clearly the influence of the Harmony, but its occurrence in *e* on one side and in the margin of the Harclensis Syriac on the other, proves that this influence of one and the same Harmony works both in the Old-Latin and in the Old-Syriac (which is frequently attested by the marginal notes in the Heracleian Syriac). The min. 1222 is one which often appears among the Tatianizing codices. It is not an insertion due to the Eusebian Canons, which do not combine the two passages. So we find here the influence of the Diatessaron in three branches of evolution: the Old-Latin, the Old-Syriac and the Greek of the later Middle Ages, each of them represented by one witness. The Liège Text provides the key to the problem.

L p. 39¹⁰ (Ch. 33) = Mt. iv. 16.

'denghenen die woenden in den schade van den doet'.

om. *in regione et*: Taeph. 6, 50, sycur, *e a c*. The combination of witnesses suggests the influence of the Diatessaron on the Old-Latin.

L 49¹¹ (Ch. 45) = Lk. xii. 32.

'En onssit u nit cleine convent', *Ne timeas pusillus conventus*.

There is no doubt whatever that the Latin original of L read *conventus* and not *grex*, for S and H have translated this very same word by 'menichte' and 'sameninghe', whilst an Amsterdam MS. reads the Vulgate *grex*, translating it by: 'herte'.

It is one of the most puzzling readings in L. There is not a single variant in the entire textual tradition. Accordingly *conventus* must have been a standing term in the Christian community for which this text was written in this form. Now *conventus* has the general meaning of *gathering*; it is the Vulgate word for συναγωγή of the LXX, and is used especially for religious meetings. But as a contrast to *ecclesia* it has the bad connotation of schismatical or heretical gatherings, 'conventicles': *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, Vol. IV, 1909, col. 848, quotes *Zacchaei christiani et Apollonii philosophi consultationes*, ii. 17: *ut... conventus extra ecclesiam contrahant Novatiani*; ii. 11: *Sabellius*

perinde ex se conventus sui exigit partem (syn.: *plebs, grex*). If I am right *conventus* was the term for the Christian community in which the Latin Diatessaron was read, a community outside the Greek Church, bearing the odium of a heretic *conventus* but bearing it as a title of honour. The word later got the meaning of monastery: *couvent* in French, *convent* in English. May then the Tatianic Community be the origin of monasticism in the West like it was in the East? (cf. my art. on 'An encratite gloss' in *Zeitsch. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.*, 1923, Hft. 1, S. 1—16).

L p. 55²² (Ch. 51) = Mt. x. 13.

'ende en es dit nit', literally: *et si non*. l. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἔξω.

It is the reading of *d*: *alioquin*, *D*: εἰ δε μὴ γε; and of Sysⁱⁿ 𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤀 (cur. hiat).

In the same verse:

'so sal u pais op hen bliven', *manebit (erit?) pax vestra super eos (eam?)*; *erit* l. *veniat*.

erit, εἶπε is the reading of *d* *D* and of Sysⁱⁿ, i. e. a reading of the same kind as the preceding one.

L p. 57¹⁴ (Ch. 53) = Mt. x. 28, Lk. xii. 4.

'Ende oc seggic u die mine vrint syt: en onnsiet nit degheene die den lichame doeden mogen want de ziele en conen si nit ghedoeden. Mar onssit denghenen die macht heft beide lichame ende ziele te versinkene in die helle'.

Mt. x. 28: καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀποκτεῖναι. φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γένει.

Lk. xii. 4: Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις μου· μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων τι περισσότερον ποιῆσαι, ὃ ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε· φοβηθῆτε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γένειαν.

It is very instructive to compare the forms in which the passage occurs in the various harmonisations and harmonistic Texts. Fuld. has the simple juxtaposition of Lk. xii. 4^a (*dico autem vobis amicis meis*) with Mt. x. 28 *nolite timere etc.* The Arabic has Lk. xii. 4^a, Mt. x. 28^b, Lk. xii. 5. L. has the same combination as Fuld., except that it has the Lukan word 'versinkene' = ἐμβαλεῖν (instead of the *perdere* of Fuld.), which is used in Matthew also by Sysⁱⁿ (cur. hiat.). EPHREM has *occidere*, p. 96, 231, and both

mittere and *perdere*, p. 96. Taar has in Lk. xii. 5 the Matthean *destroy* instead of the Lukan *mittere*. In Luke *d* D combines the Matthean τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυν. ἀποκτ. with the Lukan μὴ ἐχόντων τι περισσ. ποιῆσαι, whilst the Tatianizing minuscule 207 v. S. (157 Greg.) in Luke substitutes the Matthean phrase for the Lukan. The whole affords a very clear example of the disturbing influence of the Tatian Harmony in Cod. Bezae, the Old-Syriac and a mediæval Greek MS.

L p. 57¹⁰ (Ch. 53) = Mt. x. 32, Lk. xii. 8.

‘desgheens salic lyen vor mynen vader die in den hemele
es ende vor sine ingel’.

Harnack, *Chronologie der alt-christl. Literatur*, II. 405, discusses „eine ganz singuläre” variant in Novatian, who combines Mt. x. 32 and Lk. xii. 8 in exactly the same way as L (and Fuld.). In a note he remarks that the Cureton Syriac has the same reading and also Vitricius of Rouen. L and Fuld. (which omits the second *coram*) explain its origin. The Arabic Diatessaron omits the addition from Luke and gives simply the text of Matthew.

L p. 59¹ (Ch. 54) = Mt. x. 34, Lk. xii. 51.

‘pais te *m a k e n e*’, *facere pacem*.

The Matthean reading is: βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, the Lukan: δοῦναι.

facere pacem is read in Lk. xii. 51 by Cod. Bezae, *e* and Sy^c_{cur}. Sy^s_{in} has here the Matthean *mittere*. EPHR., p. 97: *nolite putare quod veni mittere pacem*. On the other hand the following lines with their: *pacificaret, fecit nobis pacem* suggest influence of the Pauline: *facere pacem*. *Mittere* is also the reading of APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 92 l. 17, and besides Sysin in Luke, of the Old-Latin *b q l r r*², the Greek MS. δ30 v. S. (1 Scr.), and 1443 v. S. Here again we strike two divergent lines of textual tradition, probably finding their origin in a primitive combination of two readings.

L p. 59³ (Ch. 54) = Mt. x. 35 (Lk. xii. 52).

‘want ic ben comen scheeden den sone van den vader’.

The Fuldensis Text has simply the Matthean form: *veni enim separare hominem adversus patrem suum*. The reading *filium* comes from Lk. xii. 52. EPHREM has the Matthean reading: *veni separare hominem a patre*. That it is L which nevertheless has preserved the Tatianic combination may be seen from its influence in the MSS.: *filium* l. *hominem* is read in Mt. x. 35 by *d* D (υιου) *b c ff*¹ *g*¹ *h q* and Sy^s_c. Taar has Lk. xii. 52.

L p. 67²³ (Ch. 67) = Mc. v. 19, Lk. viii. 39.

'Mar hi antwerdde hem ghanc in dyn hus ende telle dinen vrinden'.

Here is another instance of harmonistic influence in Cod. Bezae, Old-Latin and Sycur. Cod. Bezae reads in Luke instead of the Lukan *redi* (*revertere* αδ, ὑπόστρεψε) the Marcan *vade*, (translated in its Greek column by: πορεύου instead of the genuine Marcan ὑπάγε!). *Vade* is also the reading of *cd* in Luke. The Marcan πρὸς τοὺς σου is inserted in Luke by *a*, Sycur and the mediæval Greek 376 v. S. (483 Greg.).

L p. 77¹ (Ch. 75) = Mc. v. 42, Lk. viii. 56.

'Doe dat sagen die daer waren, so wonderde her utermaten sere'.

The Marcan Greek is: καὶ ἐξέστησαν εὐθὺς ἐκστάσει μεγάλῃ.

The Lukan Greek: καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ.

Cod. Bezae reads in Lk.: *parentes autem eius videntes exproverunt*; in the Greek column: οἱ δὲ γονεῖς αὐτῆς θεωροῦντες ἐξέστησαν. The 'utermaten sere' of the Liège Text is in the Bezan Marc: *et obstipuerunt omnes stupore magno*.

The reading: 'die dat sagen', *videntes*, θεωροῦντες is apparently a harmonistic reading due to the fact that in Marc not only the parents but also 'those who were with Jesus' went with Him into the room where the child was lying.

L p. 95¹⁵ (Ch. 96) = Mt. xiii. 53.

'Ende also Jhesus alle dese paraben hadde ghesegt'.

locutus esset l. *consummasset* is the reading of *ke* and the minuscule 133 v. S. (700 Greg.).

The same phenomenon: L p. 139¹ (Ch. 138) = Mt. xix. 1: Doe Jhesus dese wort hadde ghesproken, *locutus esset* l. *consummasset*: *e it.*, Dgr; cp. L p. 55⁵; p. 59¹²; p. 223⁵; p. 241¹⁶.

L p. 107²⁰ (Ch. 110) = John vi. 69.

'ende wi gheloeven'.

credimus l. *credidimus e*.

L p. 147¹⁸ (Ch. 147) = Lk. xvi. 23.

'ende Lazarum sitten in sinen schoet'.

The addition *requiescentem* also in Cod. Bezae (Greek: αναπαυομενον), *ebcqr* and Θ.

L p. 149² (Ch. 147) = Lk. xvi. 26.

'ende boven al dit so es ene grote afgronde tuschen ons ende u'.

'boven al dit', *supra ista omnia* l. the Vulgate: *in his omnibus*, is the reading of *ae* (*s. omnibus istis*), *m* (*s. haec omnia*).

om. *firmatum*: *e*, *Passio Perpetuae*, c. vii, and APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 908.

L p. 149¹¹ (Ch. 148) = Lk. xvi. 4.

'Ic hebbe mi bepenst (= *cogitavi*) wat ic doen sal'.

cogitavi l. *scio*: *ecfilr*.

L p. 149¹⁸ (Ch. 149) = Lk. xvi. 11.

'wie sal u deeuleke rikheit geven'.

dabit l. *credet*: Ev^g *a b Iren*.

We may add here, perhaps, a note which strictly belongs to the next chapter of purely Syriac Diatessaron readings: The Liège Text renders: τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ by 'dese verganklike rikheiden', and τὸ ἀληθινόν by 'deeuleke rikheit'. This is the rendering in EPHREM's *Commentary*, p. 163: *Emite vobis, ait, o filii Adami, per haec transitoria, quae non sunt vestra, id quod vestrum est, quod non transit*.

L p. 161^{fin} (Ch. 162) = Lk. xvii. 7.

'...ochte di syn quic hudt'; *aut pecus pascentem*.

The retranslation *pecus* for 'quic' is of course only conjectural. 'Quic' may equally well be the translation of *oves* which word is an addition in Cod. Bezae latin (not in the greek), in *a (b) c f ff² i l q r s aur* and a few Vulgate MSS. (among them D^{vg}); *boves* (- *m*) is added by another small group of Vulgate MSS. The addition is however also in the Syriac (Sy^{sep} ܐܘܪܐܝܬܐ) and Taar. The case is instructive: it is one of those in which, if the Bezan rule of retranslation had been followed, the greek column would have had a reading unique in Greek, but attested both in Syriac and in the Old-Latin, both under Diatessaron influence.

L p. 165¹ (Ch. 163) = Joh. iii. 16.

'want also minde Got de wereld dat hi sinen enegen sone sendde in de werelt omme den ghenen die ane hem gheloeven selen te gevene dat eeuleke leven'.

We noticed already the Old-Latin reading *unicum* l. *unigenitum*.

'sendde', *mitteret* l. *daret: e ff² aur* and *sysin*. The addition in *mundum* is found in *e*, *gheloven selen*, *crediderit* l. *credit: e aur*, *sysin* ('whosoever shall believe').

Readings like these suggest a close relation between the 'African' Latin and the Old-Syriac. We may add that the omission of: *μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ'*, is attested by *sycur* and *Eus*.

L p. 175¹ (Ch. 172) = Lk. xx. 35.

'Die en selen noch wijve nemen noch brulocht maken';
neque sument uxores neque matrimonium facient.

It may be noticed that *sument uxores* is the literal translation of *ܠܡܢ ܢܬܝܬܐܢ*. The rendering *matrimonium faciunt* is found only in *Cypr.*, IV, p. 16.

L p. 181⁸ (Ch. 176) = John viii. 28.

'also also mi de vader gheleert heeft, also spreke ik'.

also, *sic* l. *haec: a e (ita)*, *Tert.*, *sy(c) Taar*, *Ⲑ*.

One of the cases in which Cod. Sinaiticus seems to be under syriac influence.

L p. 185⁸ (Ch. 179) = Joh. ix. 6.

In 'A Primitive Text' p. 57 I drew attention to the reading '*sire* speaken', the add. *suo p. sputo* being attested only by EPHREM. I find that the reading is also in *sys(c)p*, *pal.* and the Old-Latin Rhedigeranus. So it will not do to ascribe this reading to pure accident as Jülicher (*l. l.* S. 160) does.

L p. 185¹⁸ (Ch. 179) = John ix. 21.

'mar hoe hi nu siende worden ende etc.'

L omits *ὅκ οἶδαμεν*. The same omission in *sys(c)p*, *Taar*, and in *e*.

L p. 185¹⁹ (Ch. 179) = John ix. 22.

'dat hi ware verbannen uter synagogen';

expelleretur de synagoga l. *extra synagogam fieret* is the reading of *e*. The other Old-Latin renderings are: *de syn. eiceretur: a*; *de syn. eiciatur: d*; *eiceretur de syn.: l*; *proiceretur de syn.: r*. It may be noticed that the Lewis Syriac renders *ἀποσυν. γένηται* by: *ܡܢܝܬܐܢ*, 'they should expel him' (om. *de syn.*). The Peš. rendering is: *ܠܡܢ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܐܬܐܢ*, *ejicerent eum de synagoga*. It seems likely that the Old-Latin rendering is influenced by the Old-Syriac.

L p. 195⁹ (Ch. 183) = John xi. 44.

'Doe quam altehant ut tin grave'; *et statim exiit [ē monumento]* etc.

Statim is an addition attested by *f aur*, some Vulgate codd., *d p r* (*confestim*), *sys(c)*, *pal*. The only Greek witness is D: *εὐθὺς*. One of the cases of a unique Greek reading in Cod. Bezae, and of a Diatessaron reading passed into the Vulgate MSS.

L p. 201²⁰ (Ch. 188) = John xii. 22.

'daerna so quamen Andr. ende Phil.'; *deinde venerunt Andr. et Phil.*

The addition of *deinde* only in *e*.

L p. 203⁶ (Ch. 189) = John xii. 32.

'so sal ic alle dinc (*omnia*) te mi trecken'.

πάντα l. πάντας is the reading of Codex Bezae, *ℵ**, the minuscule 1246 v. S. (1355 Greg.) and the whole Latin tradition.

L p. 225^{1,2} (Ch. 206) = Mt. xxvi. 26, Lk. xxii. 19.

It is not only in the Liège MS. but also in Fuld. and in Taar that, after the breaking of the bread in the institution of the Lord's Supper, are omitted the Lukan words: *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, which apparently Tatian transposed after the cup and enlarged with the words of the Pauline tradition in I Cor. xi (cf. *supra* p. 8). The influence of the variant is found in the Old-Latin *a b d e f f² i l* and Cod. Bezae^{gr}, which equally omit in Lk. xxii. 19 the words: *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*. The second cup is omitted, as in the Diatessaron (Ar., Fuld. and L), by *b e* and *sysc*, which place vs. 17, 18 after vs. 19, and by *a d f f² i l Dgr*. Nearly the whole textual tradition in Old-Latin and Syriac seems to be influenced by Tatian's Harmony at this point.

L p. 225¹ (Ch. 206) = Lk. xxii. 31.

'Sathanas heft darnia ghestaen dat hi u mochte temsen'; *Satanas expetivit ut vos ventilet, l. expetivit vos ut cribraret.*

It is the reading of (*b*) *e f f f² i l q r* and of the Capitularia of Fuld. and Zach. The same reading also in *sysc*.

The following verse:

'ende op welken tyt dat du gesterkt best so confirmeer dine brudere',

offers several points of interest which may be mentioned here. The Latin of L would run thus:

et quo tempore confortatus es confirma fratres tuos.

The Vulgate reads: *et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos*. *Aliquando* is omitted by *e d.* *e* reads *tu autem convertere et fide et conforta fratres tuos*; *d* reads *tu autem convertere et confirma fratres tuos*. The greek column of Cod. Bezae simply offers the greek retranslation of the latin column: *συ δε επιστρεψον και στηριξον τους αδελφους σου*. I have no explanation to offer for the *confortatus es* of L l. *conversus es*; possibly it is only a misreading. Perhaps the addition of: *et fide* in *e* is the remains of a reading: *confortatus es fide*. But if we turn to the Old-Syriac we find in *sysin* and *sycur*: *et tu quoque in tempore convertere et confirma fratres tuos*. Here we find the curious 'o p welken tyt' of L, and the paratactical construction of *e d D*: *convertere et*.

L p. 225¹⁸ (Ch. 207) = John xiii. 10.

'want he es suver altemale'; *totus enim est mundus*.

Instead of *ἀλλ'* the Liège Text reads *enim* with *d D* (*γαρ*) (cf. l: *quia*) and with *sysin* and *Peš.* (cur. hiat). Another instance of the close relation between the Liège Text on one side and Cod. Bezae with *sys(c)* on the other.

A similar instance is:

L p. 225²² (Ch. 207) = John xiii. 14.

'so motti dan deen den anderen sine voete met rechte dvaen'.

'Met rechte' is probably the rendering of *quanto magis* (*et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes*), which addition is found in *Evg a ff² l m r* and Cod. Bezae (latin and greek), and in *sys(c)p*, *APHRAHAT* and the Arabic Diatessaron. Again Cod. Bezae is the only greek witness (cf. CHASE, *The Syro-latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 25).

L p. 227⁰ (Ch. 207) = John xiii. 20.

'ende di mi ontfet'; *et qui me accipit*.

et qui l. *qui autem* is the reading of *dl* (*e*), the Greek D, 351 v. S. (713 Greg.), *sys(c)* and Taar. Here the Greek of Cod. Bezae is accompanied by the Greek of another Tatianizing authority: the Peckover MS.

L p. 235¹⁰ (Ch. 218) = John xvi. 8.

'so sal hi de werelt berespen van sunden'; *ille arguet mundum de peccatis*.

The plural *peccatis* l. *peccato* is read by *e* and by *sysin*.

L p. 241¹³ (Ch. 222) = John xvii. 24.

'dat si mogen sien die clerhet di du mi gegheven hefst';
ut videant claritatem.

om. *meam*: Cod. Bezae (latin and greek), and *sys(c)*.

L p. 251¹² (Ch. 227) = Lk. xxiii. 6.

'vragde hi ochte hi van Galileen ware'.

de Galilea l. *Galileus* in *sysc*, *ab c d e f f² i l q r* and the Bezan Greek. Notice that *sysin* has here *om*  *oi* and cp. the note of Burkitt, *i. l.*: "The words 'Galilee' and 'Galilean' are confused in *sysin* here and in Mt. xxvi. 69, Mk. xiv. 70, Lk. xxii. 59". Note also the omission of *homo* in *sysc* and the Old-Latin *l*.

L p. 255⁵ (Ch. 228) = Mt. xxvii. 26, Mc. xv. 15, John xix. 16.

'Doe lit hi hen Barabbam gaen ende Jhesum dede hi gheeselen ende also hi ghegeeselt was so leverdene Pylatus sinen riddren ende denghenen di met hem waren dat sine souden crucen'.

The passage is a harmonisation of Mt. xxvii. 26, Mc. xv. 15 and John xix. 16. The remarkable fact is that from Mc. xv. 15 are omitted the words *βουλόμενος τῷ ὀχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι*. The same omission in Cod. Bezae, *k* and *ff²*.

L p. 259⁴ (Ch. 230) = Mt. xxvii. 45, Mc. xv. 33, Lk. xxiii. 44 f.

'Else Jhesus aldus an den cruce ghehangen was omtrent den middaghe so verginc de sonne ende al der werelt was in demsternessen toter noenen'.

I have drawn attention to this passage in *A Primitive Text*, p. 62 f. and showed that the transitional formula 'Else Jhesus aldus an den cruce ghehangen was' is a genuine Diatessaron insertion occurring in EPHREM and APHRAHAT, but found also in the Old-Latin *ab c r²* in Mt. xxvii. 45. Here I want to point out another feature of the passage. It is a harmonisation of the three Gospel passages quoted above, whilst Fuld. simply reproduces the

Matthean version: *A sexta autem hora tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam*. That the Liège Text however gives the Tatianic redaction in inserting the Lukan $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is seen from:

1°. The Arabic Tatian, li. 52: 'and from the sixth hour darkness was on all the land unto the ninth hour *and the sun became dark*'.

2°. EPHREM, p. 256 f.: *sol tenebratus, obscuratus est sol, sol obtenebratus est, etc.* The same reading also in ELISAEUS, cf. Conybeare in *J. T. S.*, 1924, April, p. 244, and in *The Doctrine of Addai* (ed. G. Phillips, 1876, p. 37; Syr. ܐܠܗܐ, fol. 24^a): 'and at the time they crucified him, the sun became darkened'. The latter witness, which is certainly an authority for the Old-Syriac Diatessaron, has exactly the reading of the Liège Text.

L p. 259¹⁴ (Ch. 231) = Mt. xxvii. 51, Mc. xv. 38 (Lk. xxiii. 45).

'Op die selve wille so schorde di cortine van den temple'; *eodem tempore scissum est velum templi*.

Op die selve wille, *eodem tempore* (S: 'up die selve stonde', *eadem hora*), is an addition which we find back in the Sin. Syriac, Mt. xxvii. 51, in the form: 'and in that same hour', in the Peš. as: 'and immediately' (so also Taar). It has been preserved by *k* in Mc. xv. 38: *et continuo*. We notice in passing that *k* has preserved in Mc. xv. 38 also the Diatessaron reading *in duas partes* (L 'in tveen stukken') instead of: *in duo*.

L p. 263^{5,6} (Ch. 233) = Mt. xxvii. 65 f.

'Ghaet ende nemt hoeden leiden hoeden bevalen den hoeden'.

hoeden, *custodes* l. *custodiam* is the reading of *a b c d f ff² g¹ q*, S^{vg} and D^{gr}. In vs. 66 all the Latin authorities read *cum custodibus* against all Greek authorities with the single exception of D^{gr}.

L p. 263¹⁴ (Ch. 234) = Lk. xxiv. 2.

'ende also die vrouwen totin grave quamen so sagen si' etc.; *et cum venissent feminae ad monimentum* etc.

To this and similar readings CHASE, *l. l.*, p. 96 has already drawn attention. The stylistic addition is found also in the Arabic ('and they came and found'), *d D*, in 78 v. S. (= Tⁱ), and in the Old-Latin *c*.

L p. 263²⁰ (Ch. 234) = Lk. xxiv. 5.

'laett u gedinken dire wart di' etc. *recordamini verba quae etc.*

verba quae l. Vulgate: *qualiter*. The Greek is *μνήσθητε ὧς*. We find however the Liège reading in *c* as *quae*, *d* *quanta*, D *σα*. It is also in the Old-Syriac: 'recollect that which' (sysc), in Peš. and in Taar ('recollect what he was speaking').

But is the reading older than Tatian? It is also in Marcion's Gospel: *recordamini quae locutus sit* (Tert.), *μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν* (Epiph.).

One of the interesting readings preserved in the Stuttgart MS. may be recorded here. After John xx. 16 this MS. adds (Bergsma p. 264¹⁰):

'Doe lip si te hem waert ende woudene roeren'.

The addition is preserved in Latin only in the Vg. MSS. D E and by *gat*. In Greek by *Ⲭ**, *Θ*, *Ψ*, some MSS. of the Ferrar group, the group K' (v. S.) and the min. 1222, 1443 (v. S.); in Syriac by sys(c)^h, pal.: a range of authorities which by itself would suggest a Tatianic origin. How such a reading could disappear from all Diatessaron Texts except S is one of the riddles of textual criticism.

L p. 267¹⁴ (Ch. 239) = Lk. xxiv. 18.

'Du best allene en pelgrim ende coms van Jherusalem'.

This rendering of *σὺ μόνος παροικεῖς Ἱερουσαλὴμ* (Vg. *tu solus peregrinus es in hierusalem*) is probably a translation of: *tu solus peregrinarius ab hierusalem* found in *c* and *e*, Aug. VOGELS in his review in: *Theol. Revue*, 1923, n^o. 5, col. 84, has drawn attention to this peculiar variant, and says: 'damit wird die Frage aufgerollt woher die weit von aller griechischen Überlieferung abweichende Form die *c* und *e* im Schluss-Kapitel des 3. Evangeliums bieten, stammen mag'. His suggestion of a Tatianic origin is strengthened when we remark that it is also the reading of sysin and sycur: 'art thou a stranger (by thyself, om. sysin) from Jerusalem'. It appears also in Peš.

A similar instance in:

L p. 267¹⁷ (Ch. 239) = Lk. xxiv. 21.

Here the Liège Text omits the words *σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις* (*super haec omnia*) with *a b c ff² l r*, Aug. on the Latin side and syscp on the Syriac side. Of these authorities *a b ff² r* insert *super his omnibus* in vs. 22 after *sed*.

L p. 271²² (Ch. 241) = John xxi. 7.

'ende spranc in de zee', *et salit in mare*.

The Vulgate reading is: *et misit se in mare*. The only authority for *salit* is Codex Bezae: latin *et [misit se et] salibit in mare*, greek και ηλαιο εις την θαλασσαν. Here is one of the cases in which Codex Bezae and L are the only authorities for a Diatesaron reading. We find it however also in sa.: *leapt*.

L p. 273⁶ (Ch. 241) = John xxi. 13.

'doe nam Jhesus dat brood'.

The Greek is: ἔρχεται Ἰησοῦς καὶ λαμβάνει τὸν ἄρτον. L omits ἔρχεται ... καὶ, which omission is attested in the Old-Latin by c, in the Syriac by sysin.

L p. 273¹⁰ (Ch. 243) = John xxi. 24.

L adds in this verse the words: 'die nit gescreven en syn in desen boeke'. This addition, taken from John xx. 30, is found also in the same place in the Old-Latin b.

L p. 275¹⁵ (Ch. 245) = Lk. xxiv. 52.

'Ende also hi hen ontfaren was so ghingen si weder' etc.

Here the words: προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν are omitted by L, as in Latin by *a b d e f f² l Aug.*, in Greek only by Cod. Bezae, in Syriac by sysin. The variant is apparently Tatianic and it is not clear why Von Soden puts the words in brackets in his text.

L p. 225¹⁻³ (Ch. 206) = Mt. xxvi. 26—28; Mc. xiv. 22—23; Lk. xxii. 19 f.

We have drawn attention (cp. *supra* p. 8) to the gloss inserted into the words of institution of the Lord's supper: 'ende also dikke also gi dit doet', taken from I Cor. xi. 25 and appearing also in APHRAHAT. We suggested that the gloss might be taken from the liturgy of the Church. As a matter of fact we find the exact equivalent of L's form of the passage in the latin fragments of the Apostolic Canones (ed. Edm. Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta Ueronensia latina*, Lipsiae, 1900, p. 107): *quando hoc facitis* (ποιητε l. πινητε) *meam commemorationem facitis*. The same archaic form also in the coptic and the ethiopic version of the Canones. It is equally possible of course, that the earliest liturgical form in the latin and syriac Churches is derived from the earliest form in which the Gospel narrative reached these

Churches. It may be useful therefore to examine the passage somewhat more closely.

The passage runs in L p. 225¹⁻³ thus:

‘Ende over etene so nam Jhesus en broet ende benediet ende braect ende gaeft sinen yongren ende seide aldus: Nemt ende ett daraf alle want dit es myn lichame die vore u ghelevert sal werden. Darna so nam hi den kelc ende dankde Gode ende benedydene ende ghafften sinen yongren ende seide aldus. Drinkt hiraf alle’.

We notice first the addition: [ett] daraf alle. The gloss is an assimilation to the words of institution used at the cup. That it is a Diatessaron reading is seen from APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 516, who has exactly the same form: *accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes*. It occurs however also in the Roman and the Ambrosian liturgies: *accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes*. In the Gospels it occurs in Matthew in Q^{vg} and *b*. The addition *want, enim*, is found in Mt. in the Vulgate MSS. DE E-PIQR, and in the Old-Latin *ab fff*¹. These codd. retaining *enim* from the gloss of which they reject the former part, are witnesses of the earlier complete form as well. The archaic character of the gloss follows from its occurrence not only in the Old-Latin Harmony and Gospels and in APHRAHAT, but also in the early latin Liturgies.

Another reading to which Rev. C. Phillips, Bournemouth, drew my attention, are the words ‘ghelevert sal worden’, *tradetur l. datur*. This reading is also preserved in the Mozarabic liturgy; but as a Diatessaron reading it occurs in a Winchester MS. of ZACHARY, from which Mr. Phillips will soon, I hope, publish his very interesting and important observations. The reading *tradetur l. datur* is found also in Luke in *r* and in Matthew in *ff*¹.

In Mt. xxvi. 27, Mc. xiv. 23 the Greek Text says that Jesus after taking the cup.: *εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς*, which the Vulgate correctly translates by *gratias egit*. L however reads: ‘dankde Gode ende benedydene’, which addition is found also in Fuld. It is a genuine Diatessaron reading, as it occurs also in the Arabic: ‘He took a cup and gave thanks and blessed and gave them’. The reading is a doctrinal one, as is explicitly stated in the comment of ZACHARY, col. 502 B (labeled as BEDE’s (?), but I did not find it in his Homilies either on Mk. or on Lk.): *Benedixit Dominus calicem eadem benedictione qua et panem: quia passionem suam constituit hostiam sufficientem qua mundus deo reconciliatur*.

We find *benedixit* l. *gratias egit* also in APHRAHAT, l. l., in Mc. xiv. 23 in sys^(c) and in the Old-Latin: *h c ff i q*.

The blessing of the cup is also in the Ethiopic Liturgy (cp. S. A. B. Mercer, *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, Milwaukee/London, 1915, p. 354): 'and likewise also the cup giving thanks, he blessed it and hallowed it'. It is also in several other Eastern and Western Liturgies.

Apparently we come with this version of the Lord's words at the last Supper to the earliest times of the latin and syriac Churches. It would be interesting to make a study of the Eastern Liturgies with regard to the Tatianic version, but we must leave this for another occasion. Only one important parallel may be noticed: In the liturgical *Papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh* (reconstructed by Th. Shermann in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, III: 6: 1^b, and discussed by the same scholar in his: *Aegyptische Abendmahls-liturgien des ersten Jahrtausends*, Paderborn, 1912, S. 5—14) we find exactly as in the Tatianic Diatessaron and in the Roman and the Ambrosian Liturgies the form (fol. 2^v l. 5 sq.): λάβετε φάγετε πάντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ. The papyrus seems to belong to the 6th or 7th century, but Shermann (S. 12) assigns to the Liturgy a date in the middle or at the end of the 2nd century. Is then the Egyptian Church under Tatian's influence at that time, and does this explain the fact that Tatianic and 'Western' readings occur in Clement Alexandria for instance and in MSS. like W?

In this connection two points of special interest may be briefly noted here:

1°: *Supra* p. 29 f. we suggested that *conventus* (the συναγωγή of the LXX) in L p. 49¹¹ was the name of the Christian Community in which the Old-Latin Diatessaron was read. As a matter of fact Shermann, *Der Liturgische Papyrus von Dêr-Balyzeh*, (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, III R., 6 Bnd., Heft 1^b), Leipzig, 1910, p. 36, quotes from the ethiopic Statutes of the Apostles a very archaic form of the Apostolic Symbol, which is nearly identical with that of the Papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh. In this Symbol occurs the following unexpected article (after the Greek reconstruction by Von der Goltz): πιστεύω . . . εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν συναγωγὴν, μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Is this συναγωγή the *conventus* of L p. 49¹¹?

Two remarks of importance should be made here. This Baptismal Creed, which combines the Holy συναγωγή and the Catholic Church, is apparently conflate. The 'Catholic Church' seems an addition, while the original form only contained the confession of the 'Holy Gathering'.

It is evident however, that the original language scarcely has been Greek. There is no Christian Community conceivable in the 2nd or 3rd century, not even in Judaistic circles in Palestine, which should have confessed faith in the 'Holy Synagogue'. The Greek must be a translation. Was then the original Community in which the Creed was used, a *latin* one, such as the Community in which the Old-Latin Diatessaron would have been read? This Christian Community, rejected by, or separated from, the Greek 'Catholic Church' and its leaders, accepted the odious term '*Conventus*' as a title of honour; it professed its belief in the 'Holy Convent' (*sanctus* in this connexion has equally a definite *point*), and was fortified and edified by the Lord's saying: 'Be not afraid, little Convent, for it is the good pleasure of your Father to give you the Kingdom'.

2°: The second interesting point may best be given in the words of Shermann, *l. l.*, p. 33:

„Auf ein grammatikalisches Rätsel sei noch hingewiesen. Unser Text (viz. of the Symbol in the Papyrus Dêr-Balyzeh) überliefert den letzten Satz *ἀγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* im absoluten Nominativ, während alle vorhergehenden Artikel in die Form *πιστεύω εἰς* mit Acc. gefasst sind. Betrachtet man neben unserem griechischen Texte dessen lateinisches Schwestersymbolum, jenes der Uebersetzung der aeg. Kirchen Ordnung (laterc. 74, 30, Hauler S. 113): "*in deo patre . . . et sancta ecclesia. Amen*" so möchte man daran denken, dass unser griechischer Text (des Papyrus Dêr-Balyzeh) auf eine urchristliche lateinische Vorlage zurückgehen könnte, wo *credo . . . in* mit Ablativ gesetzt war und dann *sancta catholica ecclesia* scheinbar absolut stand, aber doch von dem einleitenden *in* abhängig war. Allein wann müsste eine solche Uebersetzung aus einer lateinischer Grundschrift stattgefunden haben und wie wäre sie für Ägypten zu erklären?"

Do not our preceding observations point in a direction where the answer to Shermann's questions may be found?

The preceding list of variants, though only a selection, suggests indubitably a direct connexion between the Old-Latin Gospels and the Old-Latin Harmony, nor is it only the 'European' Latin that is involved: quite a series of most remarkable variants include the 'African' Latin also, which is reckoned to be the earliest form of the Old-Latin. I am quite aware that only a full collation can decide, but when we take into account the fact that the greater number of variants which help us to distinguish the 'European'

and the 'African' Latin fail us here: synonyms for which the Dutch has only one word, syntactical differences, order of words, and so on, we can only wonder at the antiquity of the Old-Latin Text on which apparently the Liège Harmony is based; and the thesis that the influence of the Old-Latin Diatessaron affects more or less all Old-Latin Texts is, I think, so far fully confirmed. That the influence is in the direction from the Diatessaron to the Gospels in Latin is, surely, the only possible explanation of the harmonistic readings which are common to both Texts. Is it thinkable that a Diatessaron should have been translated either from the Syriac or from the Greek, when the Latin Gospels, whose apostolic authority was indisputable, had already been translated separately? And if so, is it thinkable that the Latin translator should have collected his variants from different branches of the Old-Latin textual family in order to make such a clearly archaic Text as the Old-Latin Diatessaron was? Is not the actual existence of harmonistic readings in the Old-Latin Gospels, harmonistic readings which L shows to be not merely 'parallel influences', but Tatianic variants, a proof that the Harmony precedes and the separate Gospels follow?

The close relation to the Syriac, both of the Old-Latin Gospels and the Old-Latin Diatessaron, is, I think, also clearly demonstrated by the preceding list of various readings. Whether the Syriac is the original or the Latin, can be ascertained only when genuine Latinisms are found in the Syriac or genuine Syriasms in the Latin. We will not say that *a priori* arguments would make it improbable that the Syriac is the borrower: the earliest history of the Text is to a great extent unknown land, and the earliest history of the latin and the syriac Christian communities in Rome is equally obscured. Perhaps the next chapter will contribute a little to lift the veil.

CHAPTER V

SYRIASMS AND SYRIAC READINGS IN THE LIÈGE DIATESSARON

It is not always easy to distinguish between Syriasms and Syriac readings. I would suggest that we should call Syriasms only such readings in which Syriac solecisms, foreign to the idiom of the Latin (or Dutch), have found their way into the Dutch. In *A Primitive Text*, p. 70 f., I suggested that three readings of the Liège Diatessaron could be conveniently explained as Syriasms: the expression 'gaen (ende) sitten in een schep' as a rendering of the Greek ἐμβάλειν, corresponding to the Syriac ܥܠܡ ܕܡܕܢܐ; the pleonasm in L in Lk. ii. 41 'na de costume van harre gewoenten' as a misreading of the Syriac ܕܡܕܢܐ as 'consuetudo' for 'dies festus'; and the reading Lk. i. 78 'van boven uten orienten' as a misreading of the Syriac ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ for ܕܡܕܢܐ. These suggestions did not meet with unmixed approval. Whilst Lietzmann seems to be convinced, and adds a fourth instance, Jülicher objects to the proposed explanation and suggests another, in which the freedom of the translator is made responsible for the crucial words. I may leave the decision, as to which explanation is the more obvious, to students of the Diatessaron Texts. It seems to me that an explanation which makes the 'freedom' of the translator responsible for variants, is to be accepted only 'für den schlimmsten Notfall'. If the explanation from the Syriac is rejected, the latin Text perhaps would offer a less arbitrary explanation for the second 'Syriasm': if, as is really the case in the latin textual tradition, both 'consuetudinem' and 'morem' were used as a translation for ἔθος (morem instead of consuetudinem is used by *e*, consuetudinem by the other authorities) we might suppose that 'consuetudinem' was written first interlinear as a correction of 'morem' and then, written consecutively 'consuetudinem morem', gave rise to the reading 'consuetudinem morum'. The omission of *diei festi* however remains in this case unexplained.

'En legt uwen schat nit in d'erde... mar legt uwen schat in den hemel'.

Für μη θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς... θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν
θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ: כִּלְכַּל כְּחָמָא אֵל אַמְוֹחַ כִּל
כִּלְכַּל כְּחָמָא אֵל אַמְוֹ כִּלְכַּל.. (sycur, vgl. APHRAHAT,
p. 389 Wright = col. 921 Parisot) ‘ihr sollt nicht legen euch
einen Schatz in die Erde sondern legt euch einen
Schatz in den Himmel’: der Singular (wie in sycur) von ‘Schatz’
ist einfach durch Weglassen der Pluralpunkte entstanden. Ver-
mutlich lautete die Lateinische Vorlage des Holländers ‘nolite
condere vobis thesaurum ... sed condite vobis thesaurum in caelo’.
Alle altlateinischen Bibeln haben ebenso wie die Vulgate das
Verbum ‘thesaurizare’: nur in vereinzelten Väterzitaten (s. Sabatier)
begegnet *condere*, wohl jeweils vom Autor statt des Fremdwortes
eingesetzt. Wenn aber Ambrosius, exp. Ps. 118 cap. 8, 8 p. 154
Petschenig, genau den eben als Vorlage von L erschlossenen Text
bringt, während er sonst (sogar ebd. 12. 2. p. 253) den üblichen
Wortlaut zitiert, so ist der Verdacht nicht abzuweisen dass das
alt-lateinische Diatessaron auf ihn eingewirkt hat’. This is con-
vincing. We may add perhaps, that the point is not only that
L uses with syc, APHRAHAT and Taar the singular *thesaurum*
instead of the plural *thesauros*. This might be a Syriac reading
caused by the dropping of the diacritical points. The importance
lies rather in the words ‘en leg t nit’ instead of *nolite thesaurizare*.
This Vulgate: ‘*thesaurizare thesauros*’ is of course an imitation
of the Greek assonance θησαυρίζειν θησαυρούς. Tatian has imitated
the Greek assonance (or has he restored the original Aramaic
assonance?) by his translation: ‘tesimun simta’. And it is this
rendering: ‘lay your treasure’, *condite thesaurum*, ‘leg uwen
schat’ which suggests a direct, original translation of the Syriac
into the latin Diatessaron. *Condere* in this case would not be
the secondary latin translation ‘statt des Fremdwortes eingesetzt’
but the original Latin, corrected in the latin Gospel Texts into
‘thesaurizare’ after the Greek. Traces of the original *condere* are
found in Cyprian, Ambrose, Arnobius, Augustine, Juvenius, and
they are in these authors rather a survival of the form in which
the logion was first used in the latin Christian community.

We are confirmed in this view by

L p. 95⁶ (Ch. 96) = Mt. xiii. 44.

'ghelyc es hemelrike den schatte die gheborgen legt in den velde ende deghene die den schat vindt hi bergten 'noch bat', *simile est regnum caelorum thesauro qui absconsus jacet in agro quem qui invenit thesaurum abscondit eum* 'eo magis'.

Important is the variant legt = *jacet*, *thesaurus jacet*. It is found in *sysin* and *sycur*: ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܪܐܝܬܐ. That this reading in which again we find the assonance of Mt. vi. 19 is really the reading of Tatian's Diatessaron appears from APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 93, where the author says that 'the Saviour has been laid in the world like a treasure in the field'. It would seem that the *absconsus jacet* is a conflation of the ordinary Greek.

We notice in passing another variant in this passage: the omission of *ἄνθρωπος*. The same omission in exactly the same form occurs in *sysin*: ܩܘܕ ܩܘܝ ܝܢܒܝܬܐ ܥܡܪܐܝܬܐ. In Latin this reading is represented by *k* and *e*: *quod qui invenit abscondit*. The more exact rendering of the Greek: *ὃν εὗρὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔκρυψεν*, would be the Latin of the Veronensis and the Vercellensis: *quem cum invenerit homo abscondit eum*, in which however *eum* seems a Syriasm (ܥܡܐܝܬܐ).

One of the characteristic Aramaisms in the Synoptic Gospels is the use of the verb *ἄρχεσθαι* with another verb (*λέγειν*, *κηρύσσειν*, etc.) in the sense of an inchoative, or sometimes even simply as a paraphrase of the principle verb without any explicite inchoative meaning¹⁾. As a matter of fact Dr. Mingana tells me

¹⁾ In the *J. T. S.*, 1224, p. 390—402, Mr. J. W. Hunkin publishes an interesting, elaborate study on the: *Pleonastic ἄρχομαι in the New Testament*. He shews that "in Mark there is a certain excessive use of *ἄρχομαι* with the infinitive and a tendency for this word to lose its distinctive meaning and to be reduced to a quasi-auxiliary verb. St. Matthew and St. Luke each in about a dozen instances avoid the use of *ἄρχομαι* which lay before them in Mark . . . They regard the use of *ἄρχομαι* with a following infinitive as to some extent natural in the kind of writing they are dealing with . . . it is only when the use of the word becomes excessive (as it does in Mark) that it is objectionable to writers who (like St. Matthew and St. Luke) possess a stronger sense of literary style". Mr. Hunkin seems to reject the explanation of the phenomenon from the Aramaic, though p. 399 he admits that both in Hebrew and in Aramaic 'begin' is sometimes used loosely and in a pleonastic way. As a matter of fact the phenomenon is not strictly confined to the Semitic languages as some quotations by Hunkin show for the Greek, the Latin and the English. Still the

that in Arabic this paraphrase is generally used without any real difference of meaning with the simple verb. This weakening of the inchoative value of the paraphrase with 'begin' explains the fact that already in Bruder's *Concordance* three cases are recorded in which the great uncials use partly the simple verb, partly the paraphrase: Mt. xvi. 22: λέγει l. ἤρξατο .. λέγειν is read by B, 346 (a Ferrar MS.), sy^{sc}; Mc. x. 41: ἡγανάκτησαν l. ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν is read by A, 1, 118, 209 and a few other min., g² q gat.; Mc. xiv. 69: εἶπεν l. ἤρξατο λέγειν B sah. The phenomenon is however much more frequent than these few cases only. CHASE, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 125 has collected a number of such cases from Codex Bezae and rightly refers to the Old-Syriac, which in many of these cases coincides with Cod. Bezae and with Old-Latin readings in this particular point. It occurs already in the original text of Gospels themselves: Lk. vi. 1 ἔτιλλον, whilst Mt. xii. 1, Mc. ii. 23 read resp.: ἤρξαντο τίλλειν and ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντες. Apparently Luke is the writer who corrects the Semitism into literary Greek. We find the Semitism however also in the Text of Luke vi. 1 in Cod. Bezae, greek and latin, and in *δ*, where it is a remnant of the Diatessaron reading (EPHR., p. 61: *coeperunt spicas evellere*). In Mt. xx. 24 where the Greek is: ἡγανάκτησαν it is the Sinaiticus *ⲛ* with two minuscules which have the Semitism ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν from Mc. x. 41, whilst the simple verb ἡγανάκτησαν is read in Mc. x. 41 by a number of Greek MSS., among them A and by the Old-Latin *q*.

The paraphrase is very common in L. For instance:

L p. 9¹⁵ (Ch. 4) = Lk. i. 41. 'began .. te verblijshene', *coepit exultare*, for: *exultavit*; L p. 13³ (Ch. 6) = Lk. i. 64: 'began te spreken', *coepit loqui*, for: *loquebatur*; L p. 21⁵ (Ch. 15) = Lk. ii. 38: 'began getugnesse te gevene', *coepit testimonium reddere*, for: *testimonium reddidit*¹⁾; L p. 35¹⁰ (Ch. 28) = Mc. i. 15: 'begint te nakene', *coepit appropinquare* for: *appropinquavit* (cf. L p. 243¹³ (Ch. 223) = Mt. xxvi. 46); L p. 37⁰ (Ch. 30) = John ii. 11: 'be-gonsten ... te gheloevene', *coeperunt credere* for: *crediderunt*;

phraseology is so characteristic for the Vulgar Aramaic, that both in Mark and in the Old-Syriac Gospels and in the Diatessaron we cannot but accept it as a characteristic feature of the spoken and written popular Aramaic of the 1st and 2nd century.

¹⁾ This is an insertion in the ordinary text! We find it however commented upon in ZACHARY, Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 186, col. 81: *non solum angeli sed et omnis sexus et aetas testimonium nato reddit puero*.

L p. 77¹ (Ch. 75) = Mc. v. 42: 'began te wandelne', *coepit ambulare* for *ambulabat*. And so on. In the majority of these cases L is the only authority for the paraphrase. But we turn for instance to L p. 215⁴ (Ch. 197) = Lk. xxi. 30 and we find: 'alse de bome beghinnen vrocht te dragene' and see that this paraphrase for *προβάλλωσιν* is exactly the rendering not only of *e* (*cum coeperint mittere fructus*, for the Vulgate *cum producunt iam ex se fructum*) but also of the Old-Syriac *ܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ* and of the Palest. Lectionary. There is the same phenomenon in L p. 159¹² (Ch. 158) = Lk. xix. 41 'so begonste hi te weenne', *coepit flere* for *flevit*, but here it is only EPHREM, *Comm.*, p. 207, who with L has preserved the paraphrastic form: *Quumque Ierosolymam veniret, videns eam, coepit flere super eam*. The latter instance shows that we are on the right track when we presume that the frequent use of the paraphrastic formula is due to Tatian, who, being a Syrian, freely used it as a synonym of the simple verb ¹⁾.

Accordingly we are not astonished to find sometimes also the reverse, viz. that for the paraphrastic formula in (aramaising) Greek the simple verb is substituted in L and in the Old-Syriac. For instance L p. 85¹¹ (Ch. 85) = Lk. xiv. 29: 'van al denghenen die dat sien nin werde bespott', where the Greek *ἄρξονται* is dropped both in L and in *sy^{scp}*. Daring as the suggestion is, it seems that L may teach us something about the history of Syriac Syntax in second century.

A similar paraphrastic formula of Semitic colour is that which L uses for instance in Bergsma, p. 97¹⁰ (Ch. 98) = Lk. iv. 29 'n a m e n Jhesum e n d e l e i d d e n e', where *sumpserunt et duxerunt* stands for the simple: *duxerunt* ²⁾. The exact form *λαβόντες ἡγαγον* occurs once in the Greek Gospels (Lk. xxii. 54 *συλλαβόντες . . ἡγαγον*), but the combination of *λαβόν* with other verbs (*e. g.* Mt. xxi. 39: *λαβόντες ἐξέβαλον*; Mc. xii. 3: *λαβόντες ἔδειραν*, etc.) is very common and is characteristic of the Semitic background of the Gospel narrative. We do not find the above paraphrase of L 97¹⁰ in any authority for the text of Lk. iv. 29. We turn however to L p. 185¹⁰ (Ch. 179) = John ix. 13: 'Doe n a m e n s e d e n g h e n e n d i e

¹⁾ For a remarkable instance where Tatian seems to have influenced the whole Latin tradition, see *infra* p. 57.

²⁾ That *sumpserunt* is not merely a loose rendering of *ἐξέβαλον* will be clear from the following instances.

blint hadde ghewest 'ende' leiddenne ten pharisewsen'. The Greek is simply: ἄγουσιν, and von Soden's apparatus does not give a single variant. We look up the passage in sys^{sin} (cur. hiat) and find: 'They *took him* [that was healed]') *and brought him* to the Pharisees'. That means that sys^{sin} has exactly the paraphrastic formula used by L and by L alone.

Here again the combination of these two authorities suggests the probability of the Tatianic origin of the formula; and the probability becomes certainty when we turn to L 249¹⁰ (Ch. 226) = Mt. xxvii. 2 parall.: 'so namen sine ende leiddenne al gebonden in de virschare'. The verbs used in the parallel passages of the Gospels are: Mt. xxvii. 2: ἀπήγαγον, Mc. xv. 1: ἀπήνεγκαν, Lk. xxiii. 1: ἤγαγον, John xviii. 28: ἄγουσιν. Nowhere any trace of λαβόντες or of ἔλαβον. But when we turn to sys^{sin} (cur. hiat) we read John xviii. 28: 'and when the day dawned they *took* Jesus from Caiapha and *brought him* to the Praetorium'. This would by itself be a confirmation of our previous assumption, but now EPHREM comes to our aid and quotes, *Comm.*, p. 238, exactly the same harmonisation and the same paraphrase: '*et sumpserunt et duxerunt eum ad tribunal*'. Only the 'gebonden' of L is omitted. Even this omission however is restored by Ta^{ar} xlix. 43: '[and all of their assembly arose] and *took* Jesus and *brought him bound* to the praetorium'. So here if anywhere we can be certain that we have found the original Syriac harmonisation, for *vinctum* is neither in the Greek nor in the Vulgate of John xviii. 28. Fuld. however also adds *vinctum* but it comes there from Matthew.

Once more we find the formula twice in L 31^{13, 16} (Ch. 24) = Mt. iv. 5, 8 'namene . . . ende vurdene'. Here it might be explained as a combination of the Matthean παραλαμβάνει and the Lukan ἀναγαγών and ἤγαγεν. But again we find the same combination exactly so in the Old-Syriac (sin. and cur.) in Mt. iv. 5: 'took him and brought'; and in sys^{sin} in Mt. iv. 8: 'took him and brought [him] up'; and again as EPHREM's reading of the passage (p. 45): '*sumpsit eum et duxit*'. Now we find it also in the comments of ZACHARY OF CHRYSOPOLIS on Mt. iv. 5 (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 186, col. 104): '*non mirum si se permisit ab illo assumi et duci et statui*', a quotation which is the missing link in the chain of tradition: Syriac Diatessaron — Old-Latin Diatessaron — Liège Text.

The proof seems decisive. We have found apparently an ex-

¹⁾ The words in [] are not clear in the photograph.

pression which was peculiar to Tatian's style. We did not find it anywhere but in the Syriac Text of Tatian's work and in the Old-Syriac Gospels influenced by the Diatessaron. I do not see how these facts can be reasonably explained except on the assumption that the Old-Latin Diatessaron on which L is based was translated from a Syriac original.

The following list of Syriac readings, however incomplete it may be as a selection, may serve as a confirmation of what we have found:

L p. 9² (Ch. 3) = Lk. i. 28.

'ave die vol best van gratien'.

This is the ordinary Vulgate *ave gratia plena* as a rendering for the Greek *χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη*. A literal translation is offered by *e*: *gratificata*. However doubtful it may seem as an argument for Syriac influence on the whole Latin Gospel tradition except *e*, we may point to the fact that this elegant rendering: *gratia plena* is found also in the Pešitta (sy^{sc} hiant): ܠܗܐܬܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܠܗ, 'full of grace'.

L p. 11¹⁸ (Ch. 6) = Lk. i. 60.

'hen sal also nit heeten.

also nit = *non sic* l. *nequaquam* is the reading of sy^(c) and Ta^{ar}.

L p. 19¹¹ (Ch. 11) = Lk. ii. 20.

'van allen din dat si hadden ghesien ende ghehoert'.

viderant et audierant. This inversion of *audierant et viderant* only in the Lewis and Peš. Syriac (cur. hiat), in pal^b. and Ta^{ar}.

L p. 25⁵ (Ch. 20) = Lk. ii. 47.

'wonderde von sire wysheit ende van sinen antwerden'.

The only authority for the insertion of *eius* p. *sapientia* is sy^{sin} (cur hiat). This repetition of the possessive pronouns in such cases (cp. also *infra* p. 54, L p. 59⁵ and similar instances L p. 75³, 109¹³) is characteristic for the Syriac idiom. Latin and Greek use the possessive pronoun only with the second (or third) word; Dutch and English with the first.

L p. 25¹⁹ (Ch. 21) = John i. 8.

'hine was nit dat ligt mar hi was getuge van din lichte', *non erat ille lumen sed testis erat luminis*.

The Vulgate Latin is: *non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine*. The only variants in Old-Latin are variants of rendering, not variants of reading: *lumen* l. *lux*: *a b e q*; *redderet* l. *perhiberet*: *e*; *diceret* l. *perhiberet*: *q*. The singular reading of L however is the exact equivalent of the Curetonian Syriac: 'he was not the light but a witness of the light', ܠܝܡܢܐ ܐܡ ܠܝܡܢܐ ܠܕܐ ܠܝܡܢܐ ܐܡ ܠܝܡܢܐ ܠܕܐ. The Pešiṭta renders the ordinary Greek: ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός.

We notice also in the next verse that *sycur* (sin. hiat) reads: 'he is (ܠܝܡܢܐ) the light of truth', which reading would be unique but for L 27¹ (Ch. 21): 'dat licht es dat gewarege licht' (*est* l. *erat*).

L p. 27¹⁰ (Ch. 21) = John i. 18.

'Gode en sach noit mensche', *deum numquam vidit homo*.

The Vulgate is: *deum nemo vidit unquam*. The Liège Text is an exact translation of the Curetonian Syriac: 'God never a man saw him', ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܠܝܡܢܐ.

L p. 27¹⁶ (Ch. 22) = Mt. iii. 9.

'Ende en segt nit onse vader is Abraham want ic seggu dat God megtech es van desen steenen te makene Abrahams kinder'.

I have drawn attention to the reading *potens est* l. *potest* in the Arabic Tatian and in the Old-Latin. I had not noticed that the passage provides us with at least two Syriac readings more: 'en segt nit', *ne dicatis* l. *ne velitis dicere*. It is the reading of the Cur. and Sin. Syriac.

L omits ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. The same omission in *sy^{sc}*, in APHRAHAT and the Old-Latin *g*. It is worth noticing that APHRAHAT has the rendering: 'be not boastful and saying', a reading which we find back in *g*¹: *et nolite praeferre vos dicentes*. Cases like these surely put the immediate relation between the Syriac Diatessaron and the Old-Latin beyond any doubt.

L p. 29¹⁵ (Ch. 22) = Mt. iii. 12, Lk. iii. 17.

'hi heft sinen wayere in sine hant'.

Both in Mt. and in Lk. the Greek is: οὗ τὸ πύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, and the apparatus of von Soden does not show a single variant. In both places however the Old-Syriac (in Lk. cur. hiat) reads: 'he who hold eth his fan in his hand', and such is also the reading of Ta^{ar}. This proves that it must be a genuine Tatianism.

L p. 31⁴ (Ch. 23) = Mt. iii. 16.

‘in ere duven ghelikenesse’;

L p. 31⁶ (Ch. 23) = John i. 32.

‘in ghelikenesse van eere duven’;

in similitudine columbae.

In all the narratives of Jesus' Baptism it is said that the Holy Spirit descended ὡς (ὥσει) περιστερά, *sicut (tamquam, quasi) columba*. Nowhere is there any trace of: *in similitudine columbae*, ἐν εἰδει περιστερᾶς. When we turn however to EPHREM, *Comm.*, p. 128, we find: *testatur enim Ioannes Baptista: ego vidi spiritum in similitudine corporis columbae*, and p. 99: *Spiritus qui descendit in similitudine columbae*. The former reading also in sysⁱⁿ (cur. hiat) Lk. iii. 22: ‘the Holy Spirit came down upon him *in the likeness of the body of a dove*’. That it is a Tatianic reading seems undoubted. As an Old-Latin reading *in specie columbae* it has been preserved in ZACHARY's *Commentary*, col. 100 C (Bede), col. 110 B (Bede-Aug.). We find it however also in the Gospel of the Ebionites, EPIPH., *Haer.*, 30¹³: ἐν εἰδει περιστερᾶς, in JUSTIN, *Dial.*, 288 p. 315: ἐν εἰδει περιστερᾶς; and in CELSUS ap. ORIGENES, I 40. So it seems an early Roman reading.

L p. 37⁵ (Ch. 30) = Lk. v. 7.

‘ende wulden beide die schepe van veschen so dat se beide welna versonken waren’.

In *A Primitive Text*, p. 36, I have drawn attention to the addition of ‘welna’, *paene*, which however is not only found in sys^(c)p and *ce*, but also in *r* and in Cod. Bezae, gr. and lat., and in a few Vulgate MSS. Here is another, purely Syriac, variant in the addition of ‘van veschen’, *piscibus*, which occurs only in Sysⁱⁿ, though the construction of the sentence is slightly altered.

L p. 41²⁸ (Ch. 35) = Lk. vi. 25.

L omits the first part of Lk. vi. 25: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι νῦν, ὅτι πεινάσετε. The same omission in sys^(c) and in the minuscule 1444 (v. S.), a minuscule which shows other traces of affinity with the Tatianic tradition.

L p. 43⁷ (Ch. 36) = Lk. xi. 33.

‘noch in ene verborgene stat’, ‘nor in a hidden place’.

The addition of *loco p. abscondito* only in Fuld. (where it is clearly an Old-Latin remnant) and in syc (Memph., Arm., cp.

Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, II, 2, S. 289, Berlin, 1905); sy^c also in Lk. viii. 16. That APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 24, has the same ܠܟܝ ܠܝܕܝܢܐ, shows that is a genuine Diatessaron reading.

L p. 47⁶ (Ch. 41) = Lk. vi. 35.

‘want hi es goedertiren den quaden ende den ghenen die sine goedertirnheit onwerdech syn’.

The inverted order: *super malos et ingratos* is found in the Greek fam. 1 (v. S. Iⁿ) and in 4 (v. S. 371), and in the Syriac tradition (cur. hiat). More striking however is the rendering of: ἀγαπῶντας by: *benignitatis eius indignos*. We find it both in APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 73 l. 17, and in sysin in the form: ܠܟܝܢܐ ܠܝܕܝܢܐ, ‘those who deny (reject) goodness’.

L p. 53¹⁵ (Ch. 49) = Lk. vi. 45.

‘ende de quade mensche brengt dat quade uten quaden schatte sins herten’.

The addition: *thesauro cordis sui p. malo* only in APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 436 l. 2, except that he uses the plural *thesauris*.

L p. 55²¹ (Ch. 51) = Mt. x. 12, Lk. x. 5.

‘ende segt: vrede si in dit hus’.

The Greek is: εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ, the Latin: *pax huic domui*. Only the Old-Syriac sin and cur., and the Ferrar group have: ‘in this house’. Cf. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 38. It is one of those instances in which the Ferrar group betrays the influence of the Syriac Diatessaron.

L p. 57⁹ (Ch. 52) = Mt. x. 23.

‘ghi nin selt comen tallen staden van Israële’.

The addition *omnes* in sy(c) Ta^{ar} and EPHR., *Comm.*, p. 95.

L p. 59⁵ (Ch. 54) = Mt. x. 37.

‘die sinen vader ende sine moeder mint boven mi’.

The addition *suum* after *patrem*, and *suam* after *matrem* only in sys^c.

L p. 61¹⁰ (Ch. 58) = Mt. viii. 2, Mc. i. 40, Lk. v. 12.

‘ende en lazers mensche quam’;

‘et venit (quidam) homo (vir?) leprosus’.

In Mt. the man is called simply *λεπρός*, without *ἄνθρωπος*, so also in Mc. i. 40. In Luke he is *ἄνθρωπος πληγρὸς λεπρῶς*. Evidently the *homo (vir) leprosus* is meant as a combination of the reading in Mt., Mc. and Lk. The influence of this harmonisation may be seen in sys^(c) 'a certain man, that was full of leprosy', in Lk. v. 12, Cod. Bezae: *vir leprosus, ἄνθρωπος λεπρός*. Cases like these are scarcely explicable except on the assumption that the Harmony precedes the separate Gospelt texts which show the influence of the Harmony.

L p. 61¹³ (Ch. 58) = Mt. viii. 4, Mc. i. 45, Lk. v. 14.

'ganc ten papen van der wet'.

The plural *sacerdotibus* (cp. Lk. xvii. 13) occurs only in the Syriac (incl. Taar), in the pal. lectionary, and in the Old-Latin ff².

L p. 69¹³ (Ch. 68) = Lk. v. 26.

'ende spraken oppenbare dat si groet wonder hadden ghesien'.

The Greek word corresponding to 'groet wonder' is: *παράδοξα*. The Latin of it is, without any exception as far as I can see, *mirabilia*. Sysin (cur. hiat) reads: *ܡܝܪܐܒܝܬܐ ܡܝܪܐܒܝܬܐ miracula et magna*, where only the copula has to be dropped in order to find the Liège reading.

L p. 75¹⁷ (Ch. 75) = Lk. viii. 47.

'alse dat wyf sach dat dat werc nit verholen bliven en mochte so quam si al ververt ende al bevende'.

The first remarkable reading is: 'dat werc', where it is not the woman, but the thing that has been done to her, which cannot be concealed. The same in sysin: 'that even this very thing did not escape him', and in sycur: 'that not even this escaped him'.

The second variant is: 'al ververt ende bevende' which is from Mc. v. 33 *φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα*. This harmonistic reading has found its way into Luke in sycur, the Arabic Tatian and the pal. lectionary b. Fuld. as so often elsewhere has the reading of Luke only.

L p. 79¹⁹ (Ch. 80) = Lk. x. 40.

'Dese quam te Jhesum ende seide'.

The Greek is: *ἐπιστᾷσα δὲ εἶπεν*. The Old-Syriac (sin and cur), the Arabic Tatian and the Old-Latin r have as the Liège Text: 'and she came [and] said to him'.

In the same verse L reads: 'seghe hare', *dic ei*, omitting *οὖν*. The same omission in EPHR., *Comm.*, p. 98: *dic sorori meae*.

An interesting case of an ascetic reading is found in L p. 81^{fm} (Ch. 82) = Mt. xi. 18, Lk. vii. 33.

The Greek of Mt. xi. 18 is: ἤλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης μὴτε ἐσθίειν μὴτε πίνειν.

The Greek of Lk. vii. 33: ἐλήλυθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς μὴ ἄρτον ἐσθίειν μὴτε οἶνον πίνειν. The Liège Text: 'want Yan Baptista quam al vastende sonder eten sonder drinken ende si seiden: hi heft den quaden gheest in hem'.

That Tatian chooses the more severe Matthean version and not the milder Lukan form, is certainly not accidental. That L really gives the Tatianic form is apparent from the list of authorities which omit both οἶνον and ἄρτον in Luke viz. Cod. Bezae Greek and Latin, the Old-Latin, the Ferrar group, fam. 1, and the Old-Syriac.

The addition 'in hem' is found in the Curetonian and the Sinaitic Syriac: 'ye say: a devil (sin adds: 'is') in him' both in the Matthean and the Lukan passage.

L p. 83⁶ (Ch. 82) = Mt. xi. 23.

'want waren in Sodoma die werke ghewarchtt die in di ghewarcht syn, si hadde maschin tote noch ghestaen'.

The Greek is: ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον.

The Latin: *forte mansissent usque in hunc diem.*

The reading of L 'hadde ghestaen', 'would have been standing' is that of the Syriac (^{sc}p): ܕܝܐܡ ܕܡܝܐ.

L p. 83¹⁰ (Ch. 85) = Lk. x. 1.

'Dar na so koes Jhesus uten ghenen die hem volgden'.

'After that Jesus *chose* from those who followed him'.

The Greek is: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέδειξεν ὁ κύριος.

The Vulgate: *post haec autem designavit dominus.*

'koes', *elegit* l. *designavit* is the reading of *a e* in Old-Latin, and of *sysc* (x. 19, 'separated') in Old-Syriac. That it is an archaic reading appears also from the Capitularia of Fuld. and ZACHARY, which both have *elegit* though the Text says: *designavit*; it is also in most of the Capitularia of Vulgate MSS. in the Oxford Vulgate, p. 286.

The addition: 'uten ghenen die hem volgden' is found only in *sysin* in the form of: 'from his disciples', cp. Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, II, 2, Berlin 1905, S. 274. The two readings *elegit* and *ex discipulis eius* are shown by L to be genuine Tatianisms.

L p. 109^{1, 2} (Ch. 111) = Lk. xi. 37, 38.

'Else Jhesus dese wort ghesproken hadde so bat hem en phariseus dat hi quame eten met hem. ende Jhesus dede also. Ende also hi gheseten was, so begonste die phariseus te peinsene in hemselven'.

The Greek is: vs. 37. Ἐν δὲ τῷ λαλῆσαι ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖος ὅπως ἀριστήσῃ παρ' αὐτῷ· εἰσελθὼν δὲ ἀνέπεσεν. 38. ὁ δὲ Φαρισαῖος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν κτῆ.

We notice first that Fuld. Cap. LXXXIV begins: '*rogavit autem illum quidam pharisaeus etc.*' and accordingly omits the words ἐν δὲ τῷ λαλῆσαι, which words are omitted also by Codex Bezae, which begins: *rogavit autem*, εδεηθη δε αυτου, and by sysc. L has the words, but S begins as Fuld: 'Doe bat hem'.

A second variant in the Old-Syriac Text is the word ܠܕܐ, 'besought' instead of 'asked', a variant which is also in k: *petiit ab eo*, and in L: 'bat' for 'vragde'.

A third variant in the Old-Syriac is the omission in sysin of εἰσελθὼν. But let me quote the Old-Syriac Texts in full:

Sycur: 'and he entered [and] sat down [to meat]. And that Pharisee had begun saying in his mind'.

Sysin: 'and 'when' he sat down [to meat] he wondered wherefore he had etc.'

Sysin has the exact parallel of the first part of L's version: 'ende also hi gheseten was'; the Curetonian has preserved the second part: 'begonste te peinsene in hemselven' ¹⁾.

The influence of these readings is found in Cod. Bezae: *pharisaeus autem coepit cogitare in semet ipso* (exactly the version of L). The other Latin witnesses have all of them a parallel rendering: *coepit intra se reputans dicere* Vulg.; — (*recogitans i. s. d. : a*; — *in s. cogitans d. : ff² r*; — *secum disputans d. : e*), in which renderings we find retained both the 'begonste' *coepit* and the 'saying in his mind' of L and sycur. This is, I think, one of the decisive instances of the influence of the Syriac Diatessaron on the Old-Latin. That the Greek of Codex Bezae is a retranslation from the Latin seems beyond doubt, but here it is a retranslation not of its Latin column but of the ordinary Latin reading: *ἡρξάτο διακραινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν*.

L p. 109¹¹⁻²⁰ (Ch. 112) = Mt. xv. 2—9, Mc. vii. 5—14.

In the Greek Text of these passages, both in Mt. and in Mc.,

¹⁾ On the use of *coepit* c. inf. see p. 48 f.

the word *παράδοσις* is always used, when the regulations imposed by men are spoken of (*παρ. τῶν πρεσβ.*; *παρ. ὑμῶν*; *παρ. ἀνθρώπων*); 'commandment', *ἐντολή* is used only of the Law of God. The one exception is Mt. xv. 9, Mc. vii. 7 where *ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων* occurs in a quotation from Isaiah. The Latin also uses consistently *traditio* where the Greek has *παράδοσις*. The Liège Text however has in all these cases the word 'ghebode', 'commandments': 'ure ghebode', 'de ghebode onser vorderen'. We should be inclined to think it a peculiarity of L, until we found the same peculiarity in *sysc* Mt. xv. 2: 'commandments (ܡܠܚܬܐ) of our ancients'; 3, 6 'your commandments'; and in *sysin* (*cur. hiat*) in Mc. vii. 5: 'the commandment of our ancients', 9: 'your commandments'.

L p. 115¹⁸ (Ch. 115) = John iv. 39.

The Greek Text is: *ἐκ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς γυναικὸς μαρτυροῦσας, ὅτι εἶπέν μοι πάντα ἃ ἐποίησα.*

Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 19, has drawn attention to the reading of *sycur*: 'and from that city many believed in him *because of the testimony of that woman who was saying*'. He remarks: 'Thus the phraseology of the Curetonian in vs. 39 is perfectly natural: no other authority has the reading'.

We find it however *verbatim* in L: 'ut dire stat so gheloefden ane hem vele liede van din samaritaenschen volke om dis wyfs ghetugnesse, die seide'. It is one of the cases in which Chase's acute observations are confirmed by the Dutch Diatesaron. It seems quite probable that Chase is right when he suggests that in vs. 42 the word *μαρτυρίαν* (*testimonium*) l. *λαλίαν* (*loquellam*) in *ℵ**, Cod. Bezae, *b l r* is an instance of context-assimilation to vs. 39. The Codex Sinaiticus has more Tatianic readings, for instance in the next verse (John iv. 40) where L reads: 'bleef dar twee dage onder hen', *παρ' αὐτοῖς* l. *ἐκεῖ* is the reading of sy, pal, *ℵ* and two minuscules 1194 Greg. (1094 v. S.) and 71 Greg. (253 v. S.). The Liège MS. having also 'dar', *ἐκεῖ*, has a conflate reading.

L p. 121⁰ (Ch. 121) = Mt. xv. 33.

'also dar wi al dit volc met mochten ghesaeden';
quo saturemur omnem hanc turbam.

The Greek has: *ὄχλον τοσοῦτον*; the Latin: *turbam tantam*. Only the Old-Syriac, sin. and cur., have: 'all this multitude'.

L p. 129¹⁶ (Ch. 130) = Mc. ix. 29.

'Nochthan so seggic u dat dese manire van quaden gheesten en mach nit verdreven werden hen si met vastene ende bedinghen'.

The Greek has: εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ. The inverse order in L νηστ. καὶ προσευχῇ is of course no accidental disarrangement but has an ascetic meaning: fasting ought to precede prayer. It is found in the entire Syriac tradition (cur. hiat) including Taar and Arm. It has even found its way into the Pešitta, Mt. xvii. 21, where it is an interpolation from Mc.

L p. 131² (Ch. 132) = Lk. ix. 49.

'ende wi verboden hem want hine volgt di nit met ons'.

The insertion of 'thee' after 'follows' in sycp, Taar and in the Old-Latin *b*.

L p. 139¹⁷ (Ch. 140) = Lk. xiii. 1.

'In din tide so quamen liede utin lande van Gal.';

eo tempore venerunt homines e terra Gal.

'Quamen', *venerunt* stands for the Greek παρήσαν. The Vulgate is *aderant*. *Venerunt* is the reading of the Old-Latin (*e* has *ad-venerunt*) *d* included (D has παρήσαν) and of sysc. That it is a Diatessaron reading is also shown by EPHREM, *Comm.*, p. 165: 'Et factum est ut venientes ei narrarent'. *Homines* is the reading of sysc ܚܡܝܢܐ ܐܕܝܬܐ, *venerunt homines*, where it is an idiomatic rendering of *quidam*.

L p. 141¹⁰ (Ch. 141) = Lk. xiii. 11.

'aldaer so was en wyf'.

The Greek is: καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνή κτέ.

The omission of καὶ ἰδοὺ in L occurs also in syscp, pal^b, Taar.

The addition of ἐκεῖ in L is found also in syscp. When we observe the great divergence in the textual tradition of this passage, the literal agreement of L with the Old-Syriac is all the more significant.

L p. 141¹⁷ (Ch. 142) = John vii. 2.

'Op enen tyt so was en feste nakende die de yoden heten schenophegia'.

The Greek is: ἦν δὲ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία.

Only sysin and Taar have almost *verbatim* as L: 'and at the time'.

The parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, L p. 151^{5ff} (Ch. 150) = Mt. xx. 1 sqq. contains almost in every line several Old-Latin and Old-Syriac readings. I quote only:

p. 151⁵ 'hushere' for the Latin *paterfamilias*. This is scarcely a translation which would occur to a Dutch author. The Stuttgart MS. has accordingly: 'vader des gesindes'. As the Dutch translator hardly has collated the Greek *οἰκοδεσπότης*, he must have read something like *magister domus*, like the Syriac ܡܥܠܡ ܕܒܝܬܐ .

L p. 151⁶ = Mt. xx. 2 'met hen' for: *μετὰ τῶν ἐργάτων* c. sysin.

L p. 151¹⁴ = Mt. xx. 10.

'dat men hen meer soude hebben gegheven', 'that to them would have been *given* more', for *ὅτι πλεῖον λήψονται*. Sysc have: 'that to them he would *give* more'.

L p. 163¹⁷ (Ch. 163) = John iii. 9.

'hoe mach dit syn', *quomodo hoc potest esse*, l. *quo modo possunt haec fieri*.

The only authorities which have the singular are sysc and Taar: 'How can this be'.

L p. 165¹ (Ch. 163) = John iii. 16.

'die ane hem geloven selen'.

The Greek is *πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων*, the Latin *omnis qui credit*. The Future *credet* only in sysin (and in the form: *crediderit*, also in Old-Latin *e*).

L omits in this verse: *μὴ ἀπόληται*. The same omission in sysc.

L p. 167⁷ (Ch. 165) = Mc. xi. 22.

'hebt dat Gods gheloeve in u'.

The Greek is: *ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ*. The addition of L: 'in u', 'in you' only in sysin (cur. hiat). It may be remarked that sysin has also 'faith of God' as in the Greek; and that it has the conditional 'if there be in you faith in God', arising from a harmonisation with Mt. xxi. 21, the verse which in L p. 167⁸ is combined with Mc. xi. 22. The same *ei* in EPHREM, *Comm.*, p. 184, **N**, 33 (v. S. δ 48), dD, Ferrar group and a few other Greek MSS., pal^a, and the Old-Latin *a b r i*.

L p. 175³² (Ch. 173) = Lk. x. 33.

'en Samaritaen quam gaende al din selven wech'

'al din selven wech' 'the same way' is an addition found in sysc 'in that same way', sys: 'on his way'.

L p. 179^{10ff.} (Ch. 175) = Mt. xxii. 43, Mc. xii. 36, Lk. xx. 42.
 'hoe comt dan datten David in den soutre heere heet',
quomodo ergo david in libro psalmorum dominum eum
vocat.

The omission of ἐν πνεύματι also in sysⁱⁿ in Mt. xxii. 43.

Remarkable is also that the quotation from Psalm cx is given in the form: 'Dat seide de vader tot minen here', 'this said the Father to my Lord'. It is an abbreviated form of the formula discussed in *A Primitive Text*, p. 44 f.

In the same verse: 'tenen schemele onder dine voete'. This is a combination of ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου of Mc., Lk. and ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου of Mt. This combination is found, as far as I know, elsewhere only in sysⁱⁿ (Lk.): 'as the footstool under thy feet'.

L p. 183¹⁵ (Ch. 17) = John viii. 56.

'Abraham u vader begerde minen dach te sine'.

The Greek is: Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἡγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν.

The Vulgate is: *exultavit*; *e*: *exultatus est*; *bl(r)*: *laetabatur*. The Dutch 'begerde', *desideravit*, corresponds to the word used in Syriac (sin, peš., Ta^{ar}; syc^{ur} hiat): ܐܠܥܬܐ, *desideravit*; pal. has ܐܠܥܬܐ, *desideravit*.

L p. 187¹⁵ (Ch. 179) = John. ix. 38.

'ende mettin warde vil hi neder ende anebeddene op sine knin'.

The Greek is simply: καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ. The Vulgate has with L: *et procidens adoravit eum*. This again is a Semitic phraseology, which we find back in sys^(c): 'and he fell [and] worshipped him'. It may be remarked that in this case the Vulgate has preserved the Diatessaron reading whilst *a de ff*^{2*} *q*^{*} *r* have a literal rendering of the Greek.

L p. 187²¹ (Ch. 180) = John. x. 3.

'desen ontplukt der dorwerdre de dore', 'to him the doorkeeper opens *the door*'.

The addition *ostium* only in sys^(c)p and Ta^{ar}. H here supports L.

L p. 189¹⁰ (Ch. 181) = John x. 16.

'ende oc hebbic andre schaep di van derre koyen nin syn ende die motic versamenen met tesen ende dan sal 'van beiden' werden ene koye ende een herde 'salse huden'.

We notice *en passant* the fine exegetical expansions 'van beiden' and 'sal se huden'. But there is also an omission which we can trace to the Syriac: *καὶ τῆς Φωνῆς μου ἀκούουσιν* is omitted also by APHRAIAT in his quotation of the passage, ed. Parisot, col. 452.

L p. 189¹³ (Ch. 181) = John x. 19.

'Else Jhesus dese wart gesproken hadde', so ward etc.'

The words in ' ' are a transitional clause of the kind that is used sometimes more in the Liège Diatessaron. This time it is preserved in *sysin* (cur. hiat): 'and while he was speaking these things'.

The next verse begins: 'want de menege seiden'.

'Want', *nam l. autem* is a unique reading of *sysin* (cur. hiat).

For L p. 189¹⁶ (Ch. 182) = John x. 22 cf. *supra*, p. 13.

L p. 191³ (Ch. 182) = John x. 31.

'else de yoeden hoerden dese wart' so namen si stene'.

The words in ' ' are again a transitional clause the parallel of which we find in *sys(c)*: 'when he said these things'.

L p. 191¹⁶ (Ch. 183) = John xi. 2.

'dire bruder was dese Lazarus die dar sik was'.

The Greek is: *ἥς ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λάζαρος ἡσθένει*.

The Vulgate: *cuius frater Lazarus infirmabatur*.

There is no variant except the Sinaitic Syriac (*sys^{cur} hiat*) which reads exactly as L:

'The brother of her was that Lazar that was infirm'.

L p. 193² (Ch. 183) = John xi. 11.

The Greek is: *ταῦτα εἶπεν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγει αὐτοῖς*. L changes the syntax and says: 'else hi dit gesegt hadde so seide hi hen noch voert aldus'. The only witness which has the same reading is *sysin* (cur. hiat): 'and when he had said these things he sayth to them'.

L p. 193¹¹ (Ch. 183) = John xi. 20.

'ende Maria bleef thus sittende'.

The Greek is: *Μαρία δὲ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐκαθέζετο.*

The Vulgate: *Maria autem domi sedebat.*

The reading of L only in *sysin* (cur. hiat): 'and Mary stayed in the house' (omitting 'sittende').

L p. 193^{fin} (Ch. 183) = John xi. 36.

'alse dat sagen die yoden so spraken si onderlinge ende seiden'

Von Soden does not give a single variant in the verse and prints its text thus: *ἔλεγον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κτῆ.* When however we turn to *sysin* (cur. hiat) we find: 'and when the Jews saw they were saying'. Here again we find a transitional phrase exactly as in L. Can its origin be anything else but the Syriac Diatessaron?

L p. 195¹⁴⁻¹⁷ (Ch. 184) = John xi. 49—52.

'Doe sprac een van hen die Cayphas hit ende die beschop was op dat yar ende seide aldus. ghi ne wett nit noch ghine bepeinst u nit datt u orborlec es dat een mensche sterve vor alt volk dan dat al dat volc van der werelt nit ne blive verloren. Dit en sprac deghene van synes selves halven nit. mar want hi beschop was op dat yar to profeteerde hi dat Jhesus moste sterven om de verløessenesse des volks van ertrike ende omme de kinder Gods die van een ghescheden waren weder te versamenne'.

We notice the reading 'alt volk', adding *omni a. populo*, which reading has its parallel only in *sys(c)*. But I quote these verses chiefly because in them every reference to the people of the Jews as having a share in salvation by the death of Jesus is lost: it is for 'all the people of the world' and 'for the gathering of the scattered children of God' that Jesus dies. We find other traces of anti-Judaism in Tatian's Harmony, both in the version of L and in the Syriac, so the redaction of this passage cannot be accidental.

L p. 195²⁰ (Ch. 185) = John xi. 55.

'In din tide so was der yoden paschen nakende'.

'In din tide' is not a freedom of the Dutch translator for we find it also in *sys(c)*: 'and it was *the time* that the Feasts were near'. A similar instance in:

L p. 201¹⁶ (Ch. 187) = Lk. xix. 39.

'meester schilt dine yongren die dat volc aldus don roepen'.

The words 'die dat volc aldus don roepen' are an addition. The only parallel is *sysc* 'Rabban rebuke thy disciples (*cur.*: them) *that they should not cry out*', which is a variant of the same addition. We observe that this gloss which certainly belongs to the earliest history of the text is marked by the marginal annotator as '*glosa*'. This means that the tendency of the 14th century is not to *expand* the text by intertextual glosses and annotations, but to *purify* it and to mark as non-canonical anything which has no equivalent in the Vulgate.

L p. 203³ (Ch. 188) = John xii. 29.

'ende also dat volc dat daer stont omtrent'.

The addition 'daer omtrent' is found elsewhere only in *sys(c)*: 'and the multitudes that were standing *there*'.

L p. 203⁸ (Ch. 189) = John xii. 34.

'Doe antwerdde hem de somege van din volke ende spraken aldus'.

'Somege van din volke' stands for $\delta \ \delta\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in the Greek. The same variant also in *sys(c)*: 'and *some from the multitude* were saying to him'.

L p. 203⁹ (Ch. 189) = John xii. 35.

'want die in demsternessen wandelt'.

The addition of 'want' is unique but for *sys(c)*: '*for* he that walketh in the darkness'.

L p. 203¹¹ (Ch. 189) = Lk. xvii. 20.

The Greek is: *ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων.*

The Vulgate: *interrogatus autem a phariseis.*

L alters the syntax: 'Doe vragden hem die phariseuse wanneer dat comen soude dat rike Gods'. The same construction in *sysc*: 'and the Pharisees asked him and say to him'. We notice *en passant* the Old-Latin reading: 'comen soude', *veniret* l. *venit*: *Dvg e v; venturum (esse)t: a.*

L p. 205^{16. 17} (Ch. 191) = Mt. xxiii. 17, 19.

In both verses L saying simply: 'welc es meerre' omits *γάρ*,

enim. In vs. 17 the omission is found also in *sysc* and the min. 476 Greg. (1126 v. S.); in vs. 19 in *syscp* and *Taar*.

L p. 211¹⁴ (Ch. 196) = Mt. xxiv. 15.

‘Ende also gi siet die ommereghheit daer Daniel de prophete af sprac. dat teken sal syn van der werelt destructien. staen in de heilige stat’.

‘dat teken sal syn van der werelt destruction’, ‘which will be sign of the destruction of the world’, is a gloss the parallel of which is to be found in EPHREM, *Comm.*, p. 213 ‘*quando videbitis signum terroris desolationis eius*’. The same ‘token’ is found in Ps.-EPHR., *Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn*, von Joseph Schäfers, Münster i. W., 1917, S. 94: ‘Wann ihr sehen werdet dieses Zeichen’; S. 96: ‘das furchtbare Zeichen der Zerstörung Jerusalems’. The word is also in *sysin* (cur. hiat) in Mt. xxiv. 15: ‘the sign of abomination’ and Mc. xiii. 14: ‘the sign of abomination of desolation’. EPHR. V 222 E (quoted by Burkitt, *Ev. da-Meph.*, I. 143) has: ‘the unclean sign’.

It may be remarked that the glosses which L adds to this chapter, bear a decidedly archaic character: τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως is the Anti-Christ; there is the expression: ‘hare leven volbracht hebben in volmaktheden’; and the remark that ‘it is now in this time’ that the Jewish nation is scattered.

L p. 211¹⁶ (Ch. 196) = Mt. xxiv. 16, Mc. xiii. 14, Lk. xxi. 21. ‘vlien op den berch’; *fugiant in montem*.

montem, singular, i. *montes* is read in all the parallel passages in the entire Syriac tradition *syscp*, and *Taar*. Von Soden registers the variant only in Matthew.

Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 77, has drawn attention to the harmonistic insertion of Lk. xxi. 28 into Mt. xxiv. 31 f. in Codex Bezae, gr. and lat., and in the Old-Latin MSS. *b c h q* (von Soden adds the Tatianizing Greek MS. 1443 and the Old-Latin *r r*²), and he concluded that this insertion was due to the influence of the Harmony of Tatian. As a matter of fact we find it not only in L p. 213^{fin} (Ch. 197) in this place, but also in Fuld. and *Taar*. But we should further observe that the Bezan Codex reads ἀναβλεψατε (*respicite*) i. ἀνακύψατε; so do the other Old-Latin authorities for the insertion. The same reading

maneatis l. *manseritis* in *d* is one of the Old-Latinisms in the verse. But the addition of *potestis* is a Syriac reading found only in *sysin* (cur. hiat): 'so neither *can* you anything apart from me'.

L p. 233¹¹ (Ch. 214) = John xv. 6.
'alse de ranke die verdorret es'.

The Greek is: ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη.

The Liège reading only in *sysin* and *syp* (cur. hiat): 'as the shoot that withereth'.

L: 'daer hi bernen sal' stands for the Greek: καὶ καίεται. *Sysin* and *Peš.* have as L: 'that it may burn'.

L p. 233¹⁹ (Ch. 215) = John xv. 15.
'u heetic mine vrint'.

The addition *meos p. amicos*, in the Diatessaron of APHRAHAT, in *sy(c)*, *pal.* and in one Greek minuscule (v. S. 1454).

L p. 255¹ (Ch. 229) = Mt. xxvii. 27.
'Else Jhesus din riddren ende din soudiren ghelevert was.
so namen sine ende leiddene weder in die vier-
schare ende versamenden al dat volc om hem'.
*sumpserunt eum et duxerunt [eum] ad tribunal et congre-
gaverunt circa eum universam turbam (populum?)*.

On the expression *sumpserunt et duxerunt* as a Tatianism cf. *supra* p. 49 f. Then we should notice that it is the 'multitude' and not the *σπεῖρα* which is made responsible for the mocking of Jesus. This is also the case in *sysin*: 'they gathered against him a *multitude*', a passage discussed by Merx, *Die vier kan. Evv.*, II: 1, 1902, S. 405. L however shows that this is not a feature particular to the original text of Matthew but of the Diatessaron, which here as elsewhere shows an anti-Judaic tendency. This is important not only with a view to the relations of Tatian and Marcion, but also with regard to the later polemic of the Syriac Church, especially of APHRAHAT, against the Jews.

L p. 257²² (Ch. 230) = Lk. xxiii. 39.
'bestu christus so verloesse di selven ende ons oc';
si tu es christus salva temetipsum et nos quoque.

The addition *quoque* only in *sysc*: 'and (*sycur* adds 'save alive') us also'; cp. EPHR., *Comm.*, p. 243: *et nos tecum*.

L p. 259¹⁴ (Ch. 231) = Mt. xxvii. 51.

'op die selve wille so schorde di cortine van den temple'; *eodem tempore velum templi scissum est.*

eodem tempore l. *et ecce.*

The same reading in *sysin*: 'at the same hour was rent the veil of the sanctuary'; cp. S: 'up die selve stonde'.

Rev. C. A. Phillips drew my attention to a very striking coincidence of L and *sysin*:

L p. 265¹³ (Ch. 237) = John xx. 10.

'doe ginghen die yongren enwege alse si dit hadden gesien'.

The addition 'alse si dit hadden gesien' also in *sys(c)*: 'Now the disciples *when they saw these things went away*'. Notice also the idiomatic rendering '(ginghen) enwege' = *sysin* ܐܡܠ ܕܝܚ for the Greek: *πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς*.

L p. 267⁸ (Ch. 239) = Mc. xvi. 12, Lk. xxiv. 13.

'Op din selven dach dat Jhesus opherstaen was van der doet so vertoegde hi hem tveen sinen yongren in ere gelikenessen'.

We notice that *καὶ ἰδοὺ* is omitted here, as in *sysc* and in *dDe*. But we may draw special attention to the harmonistic reading: 'vertoegde hi hem', 'he appeared' taken from Mark, which we find also in *sysc*, Lk. xxiv. 13: 'And he appeared to them'. 'In ere ghelikenisse' is equally from Mark: *in alia effigie*.

L p. 267¹¹ (Ch. 239) = Lk. xxiv. 15.

'aldie wile dat si aldus te gader spraken, so quam'.

The Greek is: *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ συζητεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς κτέ.* L omits: *καὶ συζητεῖν*. So do *sycur* and *a b ff² l r*.

L p. 275⁶ (Ch. 244) = Mt. xxviii. 20.

'dat ic met u bliven sal toten inde van der werelt'.

L omits *omnibus diebus*. The same omission in APHRAHAT, ed. Parisot, col. 281 l. 10 sq. (Whright p. 120, and p. 484), in the *Doctrine of Addai* (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* ܐܕ; cf. Burkitt, *Ev. da-Meph.*, vol. II, p. 107) and in AUG., *de cons. ev.*

Although the preceding list of Syriasms and Syriac readings represents only a selection, its tale seems fully clear and a com-

plete collation can, I think, hardly alter the main thesis. The Syriasms, the Syriac readings and the cases of Syriac expressions found in APHRAHAT, EPHREM and the Old-Syriac on the one side and in L on the other, confirm fully, I think, the thesis that the Old-Latin Diatessaron was translated from the Syriac. I do not see how the facts can be explained satisfactorily in any other way. On the other hand the readings, especially the harmonistic readings, which the Old-Latin Gospels have in common with the Syriac and the Old-Latin Diatessaron, seem to prove as indubitably, that the translation of the Greek Gospels into Latin took place after, and under influence of, the Old-Latin Diatessaron. This brings us for the origin of the Old-Latin Gospels to the end of the second century, probably to the eighth or ninth decade of that century. Another set of readings may possibly bring us some decades farther back into the second century.

A couple of remarks may be added. After the bifurcation of the tradition of the Diatessaron into a Syriac and a Latin branch, each branch had its own history and was influenced by its own surroundings. So we cannot expect that the Text of APHRAHAT's Diatessaron and the Old-Latin Text used by the Dutch translator were still identical. Difference of textual history involves differences of resultant Texts. Even the Syrian (or Latin) who translated the Syriac Diatessaron into Latin may be expected to have done his work with the same degree of freedom with which Tatian compiled the Gospel Texts. We see clearly that it is Tatian's aim to combine all the evangelical matter as carefully as possible; we see that he is at the same time not a slave to the letter and that he feels himself an 'Evangelist' if not an 'Apostle' too. So we may expect that the Latin translation, made shortly after Tatian, possibly even under his eyes, was not done in a slavish way, but with a certain degree of freedom, even with regard to the harmonisation and order of the whole.

The second remark is this: I have registered in this chapter a number of Syriasms preserved in the Liège Text. It is not, however, only there that Syriasms of the Latin Diatessaron may be found. Rev. C. A. Phillips has discovered at least one very striking and convincing instance in the Latin Commentary of ZACHARY, which has its parallel instance in L. I do not reproduce it myself: the discoverer should announce his own discovery.

NOTE ON Mt. II. 16

BY

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Dr. PLOOIJ has very kindly asked me to contribute my little find to his great study. I would have been only too glad that he should have used it himself in his argument; but he has insisted that I should write this separate note myself it owes also a good deal more than appears on the surface to Dr. RENDEL HARRIS help and suggestions.

C. A. PHILLIPS

The text of this passage in ZACHARY OF CHRYSOPOLIS, '*Unum ex Quattuor*' (Migne, P. L., vol. 186, col. 85) contains the ordinary Latin rendering of ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρω, a bimatu et infra, but in the comment we read '*Herodes . . . sensit se illusum a magis et in mortem Christi properans, occidit omnes pueros in omnibus finibus Bethlehem a filio unius noctis usque ad filios duorum annorum*'. This idiom is, of course, the ordinary and only Semitic way of expressing 'one day old' or 'two years old' etc. and occurs everywhere in the Hebrew of the O. T. and the Syriac of both Testaments, e. g. in the passages mentioned further on Lk. iii. 23 (with its comment in APHRAIAT) and Mc. v. 42. It is used even of animals: e. g. in Ex. xii. 5 the paschal lamb has to be בֶּן־שָׁנָה, 'a son of a year'; it is the only way of rendering St. Paul's 'coevals' in the Syriac of Gal. i. 14 ܥܠܝܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ, 'the sons of my years'.

I reported this instance in ZACHARY to Dr. RENDEL HARRIS and to Dr. PLOOIJ, and they at once linked it up with others in the Diatessaron Tradition e. g. EPHREM-Moesinger, p. 88 '*qui potestatem habeat animam filiae duodecim annorum in corpus reducendi*' and the Liège Harmony, ed. Bergsma, p. 77¹: 'Dit yonfrouken was en kint van tvelef yaren' (Mc. v. 42). Dr. R. P. Blake of Harvard University has reported to Dr. Rendel Harris, and similarly Dr. PlooiJ was informed by Dr. V. F. Büchner of Leyden, that the idiom is neither an Armenian nor a Georgian

one, nor does it recur as it might on pp. 40, 41 of EPHREM's Commentary, where we read the ordinary '*cum duorum esset annorum*' and '*ipse Iesus erat annorum quasi triginta*'; so the addition of *filiae* in the comment on Mc. v. 42 is a distinct, but apparently overlooked, Syriasm.

Throughout the Latin Texts there does not seem to be any example of this literal rendering of the Semitic idiom ¹⁾ and when we try to trace back the comment, the results are suggestive rather than definite. In Migne's edition it is anonymous, but in the codex in the Cathedral Library at Winchester it is attributed to 'AUG., *de concordia ev.*' down to and including '*ad filios duorum annorum*', after which the following two lines beginning, '*Bimatus quippe*', are labeled M, the symbol for some source, not known or worth naming. The substance of the comment with very similar wording does occur in the '*De Consensu*' (II. 11), but at the crucial place the age of the children is omitted and the passage ends differently. It is to be found however in 'BEDE's' Commentary on Matthew, almost word for word, with the slight idiomatic improvement of *ad filium* for *ad filios*. And so we are left asking who this compiler of 'Beda ī Math.' was. Had he this ending in his copy of the '*De Consensu*' or had he before him a descendant of something earlier still, and we may catch a possible glimpse of that which Dr. Plooijs's studies call up before us: — visions of some very early commentary on this Syro-Latin Gospel Text.

¹⁾ A trace of it in PETRUS COMESTOR, *Hist. Ev.*, c. xi: '*usque ad bimos et infra usque ad unius noctis infantem*'.

CHAPTER VI

MARCIONITE READINGS

Before proceeding into another part of the field of our researches, I may be allowed to draw a few obvious, but, as it seems to me, important conclusions from the preceding results. If the Old-Latin Diatessaron was really translated from the Syriac, the Diatessaron and the Marcionite Gospel ¹⁾ were the first biblical literature of the Latin speaking part of the Christian Church. The importance of this fact and its influence, especially on the textual history of the Gospels and of the Epistles, can hardly be overestimated. The Latin Marcionite Gospel, written in a vulgar illiterate language, which offended the literary taste of Tertullian, sometimes also showing signs of mistranslation due either to misunderstanding of the original or to defective knowledge of the Latin, was apparently produced in, and intended for, non-literary Latin circles, which until the middle of the third century evidently were treated as a *quantité négligeable* by the orthodox Greek speaking Church in Rome. It is a nice example of *ironie de l'histoire* that Marcionite Prologues found their way into Vulgate manuscripts, and that to this very day Marcionite readings occur in the official text of the New Testament and in the Roman Liturgy.

We are not so well informed about the wording of the Old-Latin Diatessaron. It is only occasionally that L. affords absolute certainty in the matter, and then in the greater number of instances only by the help of the Old-Latin Gospels and of the Commentary of ZACHARY. But the influence of the Diatessaron on the Old-Latin Gospels seems so evident, that the vulgar character of their language may also give us a secure indication with regard to the language of the Old-Latin Diatessaron.

The Tatianic influence on the Latin speaking part of the Church is not confined to the Text of the Gospels. I have argued in a

¹⁾ That Tertullian really used a Latin Text of the Gospel of Marcion, as von Harnack has shown, seems to me beyond dispute.

paper, published in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutest. Wissenschaft* for 1923 ¹⁾ that not only in the textual tradition of Lk. xx. 34—36, parall., but also in theories and customs of convents and missionaries in the Irish-Britannic Church the influence of Tatian is clearly distinguishable.

The conclusion seems inevitable that the Latin speaking part of the Church before the middle of the third century formed to a large extent a distinct ecclesiastical group, separated from, and neglected by, the Greek 'aristocratic' hierarchy, but strongly under the influence both of Marcion and Tatian, and more ascetic and more rigoristic than the Greek Church as a whole.

Another conclusion seems also to be involved. If the Diatessaron was translated from Syriac into Latin, the Latin speaking part of the Church and that section which employed the Syriac tongue, both under the leading of Marcion as well as of Tatian, must have been closely connected, by spiritual and ecclesiastical kinship. It is commonly assumed that Tatian wrote his Diatessaron after his return to Syria. We have no evidence for this assumption, and the fact that, certainly at a very early date, before the existence of the separate Gospels in Latin, the Syriac Diatessaron was done into Latin, seems rather to suggest that Tatian wrote his Syriac Diatessaron in the first place for the numerous oriental population of Rome, Carthage and Lyons, who could not easily understand or speak Greek, and were, in the same way as their Latin brothers, more or less neglected by the Greek authorities in the Church. Such a course of events alone seems to account for the very close connection between the Early-Latin and the Early-Syriac textual and ecclesiastical history, as far as we can judge by the scanty records which for the greater part we have to decipher between the lines of the archaic Syro-Latin texts of the New Testament. It is not only Chase who has suggested Syriac influence on the text of Codex Bezae: Merx drew thirty years ago attention to three readings in the Old-Latin Gospels, which suggest Semitic influence: In Lk. vii. 26, 28 the Old-Latin Codex Vercellensis has twice the aramaic form *Johannen* for *Johannes*, and in Lk. xv. 30 "zeigen die Altlateiner fast alle 'et occidisti ei' was in letzter Instanz nur aus einer semitischen Vorlage stammen kann" ²⁾. A fine instance of Semitism

¹⁾ *Eine enkratitische Glosse im Diatessaron*, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Askese in der alten Kirche, in: *Z. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.*, 1923, Heft 1/2, S. 1—16.

²⁾ cf. A. Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, II, 2, Berlin, 1905, S. 241 f., S. 324.

in the Vulgate is that (mentioned by Chase, *l.l.*, p. 52 f.) in Lk. xviii. 14, where the Greek *δεδικαιωμένος . . . παρ' ἐκεῖνον*, is rendered by *justificatus . . . ab illo*, in Ev^g even by: *magis ab illo*, a literal translation of the Syriac ܐܡܢ ܡܐ ܝܗܝ ܡܢܗ. All this points not merely to a literary dependence of the Old-Latin Gospels upon a Syriac Diatessaron, but also to a close relation between Latins and Syrians in the Early Church, and to a part taken by Syrians in the translation of the Old-Latin Diatessaron and Old-Latin Gospels. We are led into a portion of the early history of the Christian Church, of which very little is known, owing to the fact that this Syro-Latin Church was at the same time a neglected part of the Church and a more or less heretic section for which the official leaders had scarcely more than silent contempt. Still the veil of darkness begins to lift a little and both Marcion and Tatian begin to be recognized in their real greatness.

After these preliminaries, we may proceed to discuss another series of remarkable readings and it seems only due respect to the Codex Bezae to begin with one of its crucial readings, which hitherto escaped satisfactory explanation.

In Mc. i. 41 the Greek column of Codex Bezae reads:

καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἐκτεινας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ θέλω καθαρίσθῃσι

Latin: *et iratus extendit manum suam et tetigit eum et ait illi volo mundare.*

The ordinary Greek text says: *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς*, instead of *καὶ ὀργισθεὶς*. Codex Bezae is the only Greek authority for *ὀργισθεὶς*, but *iratus* is read by the Old-Latin *a ff² r*. Also EPHREM reads *iratus* (*Comm.*, p. 144). In a note on the crucial reading, printed in the *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XVI, n^o. 2, for April, 1923, p. 197 f., Lake discards the evidence of EPHREM to the reading '*iratus*'. He says: 'The language of EPHREM is fully accounted for by *ἐμβριμησάμενος*, and does not imply that the Diatessaron read *ὀργισθεὶς* for *σπλαγχνισθεὶς*'. There is an element of truth in this statement, though not in the direction which Lake suggests. But EPHREM's language is unmistakably clear, as is shown by Dr. Rendel Harris in his article on *Artificial Variants in the Text of the New Testament* (*Expositor*, Oct. 1922, p. 259—261), and leaves no doubt regarding the occurrence of the reading *iratus* in his Diatessaron text. EPHREM knows also the reading *σπλαγχνισθεὶς*: 'That thou canst, I know, he says;

whether thou wilt, I do not know. But the Lord shows him two things for these two (attitudes): reproof, when he was *angry* with him; and *pity*, when he healed him'.

Before giving our own suggestion for the solution of the problem, it may be well to recall those of our predecessors. An explanation proposed as far back as the time of Michaelis is the suggestion that the Syriac word *ethraham* (he had pity) was copied as *ethra'am* (he was angry). The Syriac misreading, in this case, is either previous to the origin of the Greek Marcan Gospel, causing there a bifurcation of the Greek translation into *οργισθεις-σπλαγχνισθεις*, which seems improbable, or it is a reaction of the Syriac Diatessaron upon the Old-Latin and Bezan texts, which is quite possible, but does not explain the fact that EPHREM reads both *iratus* and *misertus*.

Dr. Rendel Harris does not accept the explanation by way of the Syriac misreading, and turns to the Latin. He has been discussing the Marcionite reading *motus* as a rendering of *οργισθεις* in Lk. xiv. 21 and argues that *motus* in popular speech might mean: 'angered'. So for instance in *Acta Perpetuae*, ch. iii: *tunc pater motus hoc verbo misit se in me ut oculos mihi erueret*. It seems a little doubtful whether the word *motus* taken by itself and not, as in the *Acta Perpetuae*, defined by the context, could be used simply as an equivalent for *iratus*. As a rule it would be accompanied by a word like *misericordia*, *ira* etc. At all events the Marcionite *motus* scarcely affords a satisfactory explanation for the crucial reading in Mc. i. 41. Even if we had found that the word *motus* in Old-Latin Gospel Texts could mean simply *iratus*, it is a rather long and improbable way from *σπλαγχνισθεις* to *motus*, from *motus* to *iratus*, from *iratus* to *οργισθεις* and from the Bezan *οργισθεις* to the *ethra'am* of the Diatessaron.

Lake suggests another explanation. He thinks that *οργισθεις* is original, and really refers to the leper who 'in a passion of rage put out his hand and touched him.' *Οργισθεις* is certainly the *lectio ardua*, but it is harder, I think, to regard a reading, for which the Bezan Codex is the only Greek authority, as genuine. There are so many latinisms in Codex Bezae, and its unique Greek readings especially prove in so many cases to be simply retranslations or reactions from the Latin column, that it is scarcely admissible to accept its authority in cases like this for vindicating a reading as genuine.

Perhaps we may try another explanation, using our suggested thesis of a Syriac origin of the Old-Latin Diatessaron and of a

Syriac influence through the Diatessaron on the Old-Latin Gospels, as a working hypothesis. We shall be able in this way to test the proposed solution of the whole problem in discussion.

The word which, as Lake rightly observes, suggests an element of anger in the attitude of the Lord towards the leper is ἐμβριμῶμενος in vs. 43. It seems that it is this Greek word, which EPHREM found in his Syriac Diatessaron reproduced by a word meaning *iratus*, when he says a little further on (*Comm.*, p. 144): *Quare Dominus propter has cogitationes ei iratus est et deinceps (ei praecepit): 'Vade ostende te ipsum sacerdotibus et legem imple quam spernis'*. Now the word used in *sysin* to render ἐμβριμῶμενος is ܠܠܐ, and affords no explanation of the riddle. But suppose we turn to John xi. 33, where the Greek is: ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτόν. The Lewis Syriac renders this by: ܡܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܡܬܝܢ ܕܠܠܐ, 'was stirred in himself and was excited in his spirit' (Burkitt). We notice the same inverse order in the Old-Latin *p: turbatus est spiritu . . . commotus*. But still clearer is *d: conturbatus est spiritu sicut ira plenus* (done into Greek by D, Θ and their relatives, and by fam. 1 as: ἐταραχθή τῷ πνεύματι ὡς ἐμβριμῶμενος). In John xi. 38 where the Lewis Syriac again uses the word ܡܬܪܥܝܬܐ as a translation of ἐμβριμῶμενος, *d* renders it by *ira conversus* (Vulgate as usually: *fremens*). This means that EPHREM in his Diatessaron probably found the word ܡܬܪܥܝܬܐ as a translation of ἐμβριμῶμενος, and that he, like the Old-Latin translators, conceived it as meaning *being angry*. Evidently the words denoting emotions in Syriac have connotations different from the corresponding words in Greek; hence the deviation of the Old-Latin rendering from *fremuit* into *iratus est*, is easily explained. Codex Bezae, restoring the meaning of ἐμβριμῶμενος and the Greek word itself in its Greek column, has retained the rendering of ܡܬܪܥܝܬܐ, *iratus est*, in the wrong place, and translated it there by *οργισθεῖς*.

There is another instance of the same phenomenon in the Liège Harmony itself, and it may serve to strengthen our position. Suppose we turn to ch. 137 of the Liège Text. We find there (ed. Bergsma p. 137¹⁴) Mt. xviii. 31 in this form: 'Alse dat sagen die andre knechte hare ghesellen, so worden si harde sere ghetornt', i.e. *valde irati sunt*. This stands for the Greek ἐλυπήθησαν. That this *irati* is not a mere blunder of L is evident from *e: cum vidissent ergo conservi quae acta erant, irati sunt*, a reading which neither von Soden nor Wordsworth-White have registered in their apparatus. The other Dutch versions of the

Harmony 'correct' the reading into 'bedrouft', *contristati*, in agreement with the Vulgate.

For an explanation we turn to the Syriac, as the reading is clearly a Diatessaron reading. In this case the word used by Sysc and the Pešitta to render ἐλυπήθησαν, viz. ܐܡܠ ܕܝܐ, cannot help us, but there is another word in Syriac for which the modern translations afford us a lovely proof that we are on the right track. If we turn to APHRAHAT'S Homily 'de sustentatione egenorum', ed. Parisot col. 928, we find quoted from the Story of the Rich Youth: 'If thou wilt be perfect, go sell everything thou hast and give it to the poor, and take up thy cross and come after me. And that man when he heard, it grieved him much and he went to his house ܡܝܪܐ ܚܕܐ'. The words in Syriac which I left untranslated are rendered by Parisot, l.l. as: 'moerens'; by Burkitt, *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, I, p. 211, as: 'sorry', by Bert in his well-known translation (*Aphrahat's des Persischen Weisen Homilien*, in: *Texte und Unters.*, III Bnd., Heft 3/4 S. 327) as: 'voll Groll'. That is exactly the difference between '*contristatus est*', and '*iratus est*'. We presume accordingly that the Syriac Diatessaron had in Mt. xviii. 31 a word of the root ܡܝܪܐ and this would explain at once the deviation of translation in the Old-Latin Diatessaron and the Old-Latin *e* from the common rendering *contristati*.

Is it too bold a question to ask whether the same process of literary dependence would account for the Marcionite *motus* instead of ὀργισθεῖς in Lk. xiv. 21? I am perfectly aware that it is a daring hypothesis, for it would include the assumption that the Marcionite Gospel, if existing in Greek at all, would have been done into Latin not from the Greek but from the Syriac. But there are several observations which make me put the question, and we can do so without any risk, as long as the whole problem with which we are concerned is so full of unexpected facts that there is little room left for *a priori* reasoning or for dogmatic conservatism. Is it really absurd to suggest the possibility that Marcion, rejected by the Greek Church, turned to the non-Greek speaking part of the Christian Community with its numerous Oriental and Latin members of the lower classes which, being more or less neglected by the Greek leaders of the Church, were a fertile soil for his propaganda? The evidence for a Greek Text of the Marcionite Gospel is scanty and late; whilst we know from Tertullian that in Latin Marcion's

Gospel existed in the latter part of the second century, and the influence of its Text can be followed throughout the Latin textual tradition of the Gospels, even in the Vulgate¹). In Syria Marcionite propaganda must have been very powerful and influential to judge from the polemic in the early Syrian Fathers.

Besides this there are, as we shall see, readings in the Marcionite Gospel which suggest Syriac influence, if not Syriac origin, and which at all events deserve to be scrutinized and criticized by competent scholars. The Tatianic Text and the Marcionite Text show traces not only of common origin, but of a partly common history as well. This is only what might have been expected. Marcion and Tatian, both Orientals, were rejected by the Greek authorities in the Church of Rome. Marcion was by far the greater heretic in the eyes of the majority of the orthodox judges, but Tatian was according to Irenaeus and many others a kind of Marcionite also. They are indeed kindred spirits. Marcion's ascetism, and his rejection of the Old-Testament, have their counterpart in a mitigated form in Tatian, who rejected carnal lust, but accepted the spiritual marriage, and in his anti-Judaism of which his *Diatessaron* preserves several traces. Even in the production of one Gospel instead of the Four, there is a parallel to the one true Gospel of Marcion. The latter's extreme views alienated the two friends after a while from mutual friendship and common interest, and they became, in their followers, "feindliche Brüder". But we shall see that there are indications of an earlier ecclesiastical relationship, which has left its traces in a history of centuries.

One of the most interesting readings in EPHREM's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* is the expansion of Gal. iv. 24—27 in a decidedly anti-Judaic sense, discussed *i. a.* by Dr. RENDEL HARRIS in his: *Four lectures on the Western Text*, 1894, p. 19 ff., from whom I quote the Latin translation of the Armenian:

'Hae vero fuerunt symbola duorum testamentorum. Una populi Iudaeorum secundum legem in servitute generans ad similitudinem eiusdem Agar.

Agar enim ipsa est mons Sina in Arabia; est autem simili-

¹) One instance: von Harnack says, *Marcion*, S. 173* ad Lk. vi. 22 Marcionite Text: *Beati eritis cum vos odio habebunt homines etc.*: "ἐσσεθε sonst unbezeugt > ἔσσεθε". But it is the ordinary reading of the Vulgate, and of the Old-Latin (with the exception of B G v g a d). It is in Mt. v. 11 also the reading of k, b, f, g. Similarly von Harnack: "Stellung von ὁμῶς sonst unbezeugt." But it is again the order of the Vulgate.

tudo huius Ierusalem quia in subiectione est et una cum filiis suis servit Romanis.

Superior autem Ierusalem libera est, sicut Sara; et eminet supra omnes potestates ac principatus. Ipsa est Mater nostra, Ecclesia Sancta quam confessi sumus'.

That the expansions, which I have printed in spaced type, are no mere exegetical freedom on the part of EPHREM, is apparent when we lay beside this quotation Marcion's Text of these verses quoted by TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*, v. 4:

'Haec enim sunt duo testamenta (sive 'duae ostensiones' sicut invenimus interpretatum), unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem generans in servitutem, alium super omnem principatum generans vim dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur non tantum in hoc aevo sed et in futuro, quae est Mater nostra in quam (quem, codd.) repromisimus Sanctam Ecclesiam'.

In both texts not only is incorporated a passage from the Epistle to the Ephesians (more fully by TERTULLIAN than by MAR EPHREM), but both add the anti-Judaic expansion: *populi (in synagogam, TERT.) Iudaeorum*, the anti-legal addition: *secundum legem*, and the liturgical formula: *Ecclesia Sancta quam confessi sumus*.

We may remark first that we are on safe ground as long as we do not try to translate the Marcionite text into Greek: TERTULLIAN at all events used a Latin text, and the Armenian (*i.e.* Syriac) of EPHREM is the only parallel we know of. TERTULLIAN corrects the '*ostensiones*' of his Latin text into '*testamenta*' from the Greek New Testament he himself used, which was — we may safely assume — not a Marcionite but an 'orthodox' Text.

The second remark we may make relates to the fact that apparently the Tatianic Church in Syria used a Text of the Galatians in a decidedly Marcionite revision. This already points in the direction to which we have alluded viz. that the Marcionite and the Tatianic Churches (*Conventus* they would have been called by the hierarchy in Rome) were in origin closely allied, especially as the quoted verses refer to a form of one of the Articles of the Old-Roman Symbol, which preceded the usual 'Holy Catholic Church'. Then the arrangement of the Epistles in the Marcionite

Bible was — as has been shown by Dr. Rendel Harris ¹⁾ — the same as that in which they stand in EPHREM's Commentary. Can we avoid the conclusion that Tatian came from Marcionite quarters when he went to Syria, bringing with him his Syriac Bible, preserving in its Text as many Marcionite readings and additions as his milder views could accept? We know from EUSEBIUS that Tatian has allowed himself certain transpositions in the Pauline Epistles as an amelioration of their style (EUSEB., *H. E.*, IV. xxix. 6). His method in the Diatessaron certainly suggests that this notice of EUSEBIUS bears not simply on the style, but also on those numerous exegetical expansions of which the quoted passage in Galatians is the only known instance in the Tatianic redaction of the Epistles. But it was taken from Marcion!

Was it from a Syriac Marcion?

There are in the quoted verses some features which point into this direction. We remark that the Syriac ܡܢܐ accounts for the variants 'synagoga' in TERTULLIAN and 'populus' in EPHREM, the word ܡܢܐ meaning both 'synagoga' and 'populus, turba'. Possibly also the word 'ostensio' may yield to a similar explanation, if ܡܢܐ, 'covenant' and not as in our Pešitta Text ܡܢܐ, 'diatheke' were the original Syriac. But we are rather astonished to find *repromisimus* as a rendering for 'we confessed'. If we are to conjecture an original Greek verb it is of course ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, of which we are perfectly aware that in some special cases it may have the connotation 'to promise' like the word 'to assure' in English. But it is unexpected to find a Latin translator mistaking the word ἐξομολογεῖσθαι in this sentence as an equivalent for ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, or knowing Latin so defectively as to use '*repromisimus*' in the sense of '*confessi sumus*'.

The whole thing becomes easier when we imagine a Syrian translating a Syriac Text into Latin: ܡܢܐ, as well as ܡܢܐܝܐ, which is the Pešitta rendering of (ἐξ)ομολογεῖσθαι, means not only '*confessus est*' but also '*pollicitus est*'.

If we are shy of supposing the possibility of a Syriacizing element in the Latin Marcion, we may become more confident of being on the right track when we find in the Bezan Codex, this time accompanied by the interesting Old-Latin Codex *p*, an exact parallel of the case we are discussing. Codex Bezae Latin renders ὁμολόγησεν of the original Greek in Acts vii. 17 by 'promise', — in this case *pollicitus est: promissionis quam pollicitus est* —

¹⁾ *Four lectures on the Western Text*, p. 21 f.

done into Greek in the parallel column as *της επαγγελιας ης επηγγειλατο*! When we turn to the Syriac we find in the Pešitta and as a marginal reading also in the Harclensis *ωμολόγησεν* rendered by *ܡܠܬܐ*. The existence of a Syriacizing element in Codex Bezae suggested by Chase thirty years ago has been strengthened by our own observations. So, whether our suggestion of a Syriac original for the quoted form of Gal. iv. 24—26 will prove to be right or not, the literary and historical possibility seems beyond doubt.

There are however more facts pointing in this same direction. Suppose we turn to the Liège Text:

L p. 57¹³ = Lk. xii. 3, Mt. x. 27.

‘dat ic u segge in demsternessen dat predect in der clerheit ende dat ic u rune in uwe ore, dat predekt oppenbare’.
‘What I say to you in darkness preach ye that in clearness (*claritate*) and what I whisper to you in your ears preach ye that openly’.

The passage is a combination of Lk. xii. 3 and Mt. x. 27. The Greek Text of Luke is:

ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ἀκουσθήσεται, καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὸ οὐς ἐλαλήσατε ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις κηρυχθήσεται ἐπὶ τῶν δαμάτων.

The Greek of Matthew is:

ὁ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε ἐν τῷ φωτί· καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸ οὐς ἀκούετε κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δαμάτων.

Apparently the Matthean version is the more original one: that which the Master says privately to his disciples, must afterwards be preached from the roofs to the multitudes. Luke however thinks of the small gatherings of the first believers, meeting in tiny rooms, bringing their Good Message to a small audience; soon however the circumstances will change and the Gospel will be preached publicly.

The Liège Text is nearer to Matthew. EPHREM gives simply the Matthean Text (*Comm.* p. 96): ‘*quae vobis dico in tenebris, dicite in lumine, quod aure auditis, praedicate supra tecta*’. It is one of the cases in which even EPHREM’s text seems to have suffered from assimilation to the Armenian Vulgate. The Liège Diatessaron has some evidently archaic features. First the words

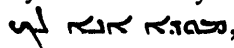
'ic rune', 'I whisper' instead of ἀκούετε. We find it in all the Syriac Texts in Luke (syscp) in the form: ܐܕܚܠ, 'ye have *whispered*', and also in the Arabic Tatian. We should be inclined to put it down to Tatian's picturesque style, but find it to our astonishment also in the Marcionite Text, where it has hitherto escaped notice. We quote from TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 28: *Cum subjiciat etiam quae inter se mussitarent (vel: tractarent), in apertum processura*. Here is again the word '*whisper*' as in the Syriac Texts in the form '*ye whisper*'. But this is not all; we find here also the word 'oppenbare' of the Liège Text (*in apertum*) for which there is no other witness in any form of the textual tradition. We can hardly imagine that a textual form of which there is no trace found but in Marcion's Gospel and in Tatian's Diatessaron, ever belonged to any general tradition; not even to the Old-Roman Greek Text of the Gospel about 150 a. D. So it suggests a very close relation between the Tatianic and Marcionitic Texts of the Gospel.

Here is another instance:

TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 25 gives as the Marcionite version of Lk. x. 21: '*Gratias* inquit, 'ago, et confiteor, domine coeli'. EPIPHANIUS gives the passage in Greek: Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Harnack prints as the Greek Marcionite Text: Εὐχαριστῶ (σοι) καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. He adds a note: "εὐχαριστῶ καί, sonst unbezeugt und der Deutlichkeit wegen hinzugesetzt; Epiph. verkürzt". This seems too rash and unsatisfactory an explanation. '*Confiteor*' is the common Latin version. Accordingly the addition '*et confiteor*' by TERTULLIAN appears rather one of his frequent remarks in which he explains or corrects a reading divergent from the Greek Text he is acquainted with; he seems to regard '*gratias ago*' as an incorrect rendering of ἐξομολογοῦμαι, though he is right in suggesting that it is scarcely an equivalent for the Greek word. The rendering is found however not only in Marcion, but also in the Liège Text p. 83^{fin}: 'Ic danke di', *gratias ago tibi*, and in many modern Versions, for instance in the English Authorized and Revised Versions, and in the Dutch State Version. The ordinary Latin tradition gives *confiteor tibi*, which being the Vulgate reading is introduced by S and H into the Dutch Diatessaron as: 'Ic belye di'.

At any rate the Liège translator is not merely translating freely. That he really had before him *gratias ago* may be gathered from the comments of ZACHARY OF CHRYSOPOLIS to

the passage (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 186, col. 214): '*Exultans Spiritu Sancto... gratias agit et exultat in Patre*'. A few lines further on, the Vulgate *confiteor* is explained in the same way in which so frequently Old-Latin readings are assimilated by ZACHARY to the Vulgate text: '*confessio non semper poenitentiam, sed aliquando gratiarum actionem significat*'. So the Marcionite reading certainly belonged to the Old-Latin Diatessaron.

But not only to this. It appears also in the Syriac Diatessaron: EPHR., *Comm.*, p. 116: '*Gratias ago tibi Pater Coelestis (in Graeco dicit: Gratias ago tibi Deus Pater, domine coeli et terrae) quia etc*'. Whatever may be the meaning of the reference to the Greek original, it seems that MAR EPHREM himself here provides us with the key to the problem we are concerned with. The Syriac verb by which he renders the Greek ἐξομολογῶμαι, , means not only *confiteor* but also *gratias ago*.

We find it accordingly not only here, in EPHREM's Commentary, but also, both in Matthew and in Luke, in the Old-Syriac Gospels (where Burkitt renders it by '*I thank thee*') and in the Pešitta. Accordingly the Marcionite reading '*gratias ago*' is not a reading peculiar to Marcion but is a Syriac reading.

The close relation between the Syriac Diatessaron and the Marcionite Text in this verse is however also demonstrated by the omission of *καὶ τῆς γῆς*¹⁾, an omission which has certainly a dualistic tendency. Tatian, who is said to have accepted Marcion's views with regard to the belief in a Demiurge, has avoided calling God the Creator of the earth, though he had no objection to calling Him 'Heavenly Father', whilst Marcion says 'Lord of Heaven'.

The textual facts in this passage show, I think, indubitably that Tatian has known, as we might have expected, the Marcionite Gospel, and that he used it, though not without independent criticism. They seem also to suggest the existence of a Syriac form of the Marcionite Gospel in so far as this would easily explain a divergence of the textual tradition, which would be merely accidental or incomprehensible when based only upon a Greek form of the Text.

One instance more of the affinity of Tatian's Diatessaron and Marcion's Gospel may be adduced:

¹⁾ The Liège Text is assimilated here to the common Text.

L p. 73¹¹ (Ch. 73) = Lk. xi. 28.

'ende oc syn salech die horen dat Gods wart ende dat behouden ende dar na werken'.

We notice *en passant* the reading: 'ende oc' which is found only in the Bezan Latin *etiam*; (Vulg. *quippini*; Vg^{codd.} *quippe*, *quinimmo*; Vg^{codd.}, *cer: immo*). But the important point is the addition of: 'ende dar na werken', *et faciunt*. It is the Marcionite reading instead of the ordinary *custodiunt*: TERT., *Adv. Marc.*, IV. 28: '*Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt*'. The Marcionite reading is also in the Tatianizing minuscule 1222 v. S., and in the Old-Latin *q*. Liège is evidently conflate. ZACHARY in commenting upon the passage (*l. l.*, col. 192) says: '*omnes qui se Verbum Dei auditu fidei concipiunt et boni operis custodia eum in corde proximorum pariunt et nutriunt... Tota profecto vitae coelestis profectio duobus his comprehenditur, ut Verbum Dei audiamus et faciamus*'.

The assumption of a Syriac original for the Latin Marcionite Gospel is so remote from what we are accustomed to, that it is only with great reluctance that I have yielded to what certain textual facts seem to suggest. Even now it is only *pour acquit de conscience* that I lay these facts before the workers in this field, hoping that by further researches the obscurity may be made clear. The matter is of great importance: the early history of the Latin and Syriac Churches is *terra incognita* to such a degree that all information is welcome and helpful.

I thought first of the Gospel to the Hebrews, which was certainly written in an Aramaic tongue, as the origin of some of the Syriac readings common to Tatian's Diatessaron and Marcion's Gospel. Perhaps this would be the satisfactory solution. We may be sure that Tatian knew and used the Gospel to the Hebrews. The expansion in L p. 87 (Ch. 87) to the story of the man with the withered right hand: 'so dat hire nit met werken en mochte', is clearly a reminiscence of the version of this story in the Gospel to the Hebrews in which the *caementarius* is said to pray for healing: *ne turpiter mendicem cibos*¹⁾. In the Story of the Temptation the Liège Text says (p. 31¹³, Ch. 24) that 'the Evil Spirit took Jesus and brought him in the city of Jerusalem ('in de stat van Jerusalem') instead of εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν. The scholiast in the Greek Codex 566 states that: "τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν (i.e.

¹⁾ Cf. *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*, p. 44.

the Gospel to the Hebrews, cp. ZAHN, *Gesch. d. Neu-Test. Kanons*, II, p. 648¹) οὐκ ἔχει· εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱερὺ'. The reading is certainly an anti-Judaic one; we need but to refer again to the Marcionite-Tatianic expansion of Gal. iv. 24, where '*hic Ierusalem quia in subjectione est et una cum filiis suis servit Romanis*' is contrasted with the 'Jerusalem (which is) above, our Mother, the Holy Church'. So we understand perfectly the reluctance of both Tatian and the Gospel to the Hebrews to call Jerusalem 'the Holy City'. But the fact remains that only the Gospel to the Hebrews and the Liège Diatessaron have preserved the anti-Judaic reading.

The evidence for the text of the Gospel to the Hebrews is scanty. What we know of it scarcely suffices to explain the common Syriac readings in Marcion and Tatian. But one thing may be remarked: the Hebrew Gospel was written in an Aramaic dialect very near akin to the vernacular speech of our Lord, and will have contained many words of Jesus almost exactly as they were heard by the disciples. It is very likely that Tatian from this Gospel may have learned many of those Syriac wordings in which he seems to have preserved for us the actual speech of our Lord. To hear Jesus speak is the highest aim of New Testament Study, to do his word the task of Christian life.

'Beati qui sermonem Dei audiunt et faciunt'.

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